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# Daily Report

# East Europe

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*FBIS-EEU-90-165* *24 August 1990*

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## Further Reportage on PRC Delegate's Visit

### Carcani Receives Delegate

*AU2308202690 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 23 Aug 90*

[Text] Comrade Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Tian Zengpei, deputy foreign minister of the PRC, at the seat of the Council of Ministers today and held a friendly conversation with him. He spoke about the feelings of friendship between the Albanian and Chinese peoples and pointed out that in recent years relations between the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the PRC have developed well. He further noted that this is a positive sign which reflects the predisposition of the two countries' governments, and is in accordance with the wishes of our two peoples.

He underlined the readiness of the Albanian Government to deepen and solidify this cooperation in various fields. Comrade Adil Carcani informed his Chinese guest about the measures taken in our country to further the increasing democratization of life, the improvements carried out in the field of legislation, the introduction of the new economic mechanism, and the adoption of laws on foreign investment and the creation of joint enterprises which open new opportunities to increase cooperation between our two countries in the economic field.

Talking about Albania's foreign policy—which aims to preserve the country's freedom, independence, and sovereignty—he mentioned the association of Albania with the CSCE process, and dwelt on our country's policy toward its neighbors and its policy of cooperation with Balkan countries. The meeting of the foreign ministers of these countries that will be held shortly in Tirana, he said, will no doubt take another step toward the further consolidation of the European process in our region.

For his part, PRC Deputy Foreign Minister Tian Zengpei expressed his thanks for the warm welcome accorded to him. He stressed that the important measures enacted in Albania for further deepening the democratization of life and developing the country have been welcomed by the Albanian people and world opinion. He noted with satisfaction the good progress of Sino-Albanian relations in recent years, expressing the desire of the Chinese Government to develop them further in various fields of mutual interest.

Sokrat Plaka, deputy minister of foreign affairs, also took part in the meeting, which took place in a warm and friendly atmosphere. Justin Papajorgji, Albanian ambassador to Beijing, and Gu Maoxuan, PRC ambassador to Tirana, were also present.

### Plaka, Hoxha Receive Delegate

*AU2308202890 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 23 Aug 90*

[Text] Official talks between Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Sokrat Plaka and PRC Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Tian Zengpei ended at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs today.

During today's conversation, Sokrat Plaka talked about the Albanian position in the field of foreign policy and the important measures recently taken in the direction of the further democratization of life in all fields. The two sides also exchanged views about various issues in today's international situation, developments in Europe, the Balkans, Asia, and the Middle East.

Farudin Hoxha, minister under the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Committee for Economic Cooperation with Foreign Countries, also received PRC Deputy Foreign Minister Tian Zengpei. During the meeting—which took place in a friendly atmosphere—constructive views were exchanged on the expansion of economic, trading, industrial, and technical cooperation between Albania and the PRC, and on finding new ways to further consolidate this cooperation to mutual benefit.

## Italian Firm Aids Agricultural Development

*AU2408114490 Tirana ATA in English 0907 GMT 24 Aug 90*

[Text] Tirana, August 24 (ATA)—The ATA correspondent was told at the Ministry of Agriculture on August 23 that in the context of the economic, industrial and technical cooperation, a contract has been reached between Tekno-Import-Tirana Enterprise and the Italian "Fiatagri" firm for the realization of two pilot projects for the growth of the production in 300 maize-planted hectares and 300 rice-planted hectares. This contract has begun to be applied in the agricultural enterprise of Bushat for maize and in the higher type agricultural cooperative of Barbullush, Shkoder District for rice, and is methodically directed by the Institute of Maize and Rice.

The investments on the two projects will be covered within two years, whereas the incomes ensured from the growth of production will make it possible to cover them within 4 years. The application of this technology will bring about annual growth of production of 600 tons of husked rice and about 1500 tons of maize, to the tune of 405 thousand dollars annually.

In order to proceed the application of the projects, this year the new technology has been applied in a limited area both for the maize and rice and the hitherto experimental data are promising.

In the meantime, the Ministry of Agriculture is working to expand the relations with other states and firms to introduce contemporary technology for the increase of agricultural and livestock products.

### Special Envoy of Kuwaiti Amir Arrives for Talks

*AU2308143490 Sofia BTA in English 1159 GMT 23 Aug 90*

[Text] Sofia, August 23 (BTA)—Mr. Fahd al-Hassawi, minister of state and special envoy of the Amir of Kuwait, arrived in Sofia today. At Sofia Airport he was welcomed by Mr. Boyko Dimitrov, minister of foreign affairs, and by the two countries' ambassadors, Mr. Angel Manchev and Mr. Talib Jalal al-Naqib. [name as received]

Mr. Fahd al-Hassawi will confer today with the president of the Republic, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, and with the chairman of the Grand National Assembly, Academician Nikolay Todorov. Tomorrow he will have talks with the prime minister, Mr. Andrey Lukanov.

### Meets Zhelev, Expresses 'Gratitude'

*AU2308165190 Sofia BTA in English 1617 GMT 23 Aug 90*

[Text] Sofia, 23 Aug (BTA)—The position of Bulgaria is one of the strongest ones taken by Kuwait's friends in defence of Kuwait and of peace, stated the special envoy of the amir of Kuwait, Mr. Fahd al-Hassawi, who arrived in Sofia today.

"We felt it in the response of the Bulgarian people, the mass media and the Bulgarian high-ranking state officials," Mr. Hassawi said. He expressed gratitude to Bulgaria's president, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, to the Bulgarian Government and to the Bulgarian people for having taken this praiseworthy position.

Today Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev received Mr. Hassawi, who handed him a written message from the amir of Kuwait, Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabah. The message expresses gratitude and the conviction that Bulgaria will continue to back up Kuwait as strongly as up to now. President Zhelyu Zhelev confirmed once again Bulgaria's position of principle which condemns Iraq as an aggressor and declares the annexation of Kuwait to be illegal and invalid. The Bulgarian head of state announced he would send a written reply to the message of the amir of Kuwait.

The Kuwaiti amir's special envoy, Mr. Fahd al-Hassawi, was received by Academician Nikolay Todorov, chairman of the Grand National Assembly. Tomorrow he will have a meeting with Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov.

### Assembly Declares Emigres 'Welcome To Return'

*AU2308143690 Sofia BTA in English 1221 GMT 23 Aug 90*

["Emigres Are Welcome Back Home"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, August 23 (BTA)—The Grand National Assembly yesterday adopted a declaration expressing its goodwill to all Bulgarian political and economic migrants. They are welcome to return to their home country, the declaration says.

The Bulgarian parliament expresses its confidence in the patriotism of the Bulgarians living around the world and in their willingness to help the democratization of Bulgarian society and the turning of Bulgaria into a modern and democratic state committed to the rule of law.

### Dimitrov: Turkey Ready To 'Normalize' Relations

*AU2308181790 Sofia BTA in English 1743 GMT 23 Aug 90*

[Text] Sofia, 23 Aug (BTA)—Mr. Boyko Dimitrov, minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, stated that both the Bulgarian and the Turkish side are willing and ready to normalize their relations, to resume and promote their economic cooperation. He told a BTA reporter that this assessment of the situation is prompted by the invitation extended to Mr. Petur Bashikarov, minister of foreign economic affairs, the contents of the talks between the two sides and some other "indications." To start with, the possibilities of activating business contacts will be discussed first, he announced.

Replying to an interpellation at today's sitting of the Grand National Assembly, Minister Boyko Dimitrov made a review of Bulgaria's policy in the Balkans.

There are prerequisites for placing Bulgaro-Turkish relations on a new in principle, stable and equality-based foundation, the Bulgarian foreign minister underlined. He pointed out that the events in the Persian Gulf give ground to seek possibilities for joint actions, especially in getting compensation for the economic difficulties the two countries have got to face.

Mr. Boyko Dimitrov stated that increasingly great importance is attached to Bulgaria's relations with Greece.

Bulgaro-Yugoslav relations develop successfully, Mr. Dimitrov said. Dwelling on the problems in the two countries' relations which are "years old," he drew attention to the claims that there is some actually nonexistent Macedonian minority in Bulgaria which have become more vociferous of late. These pretences were raised and they will be resisted in the future, too, Minister Boyko Dimitrov said. In his view Bulgaro-Yugoslav relations are entering into a new stage of reconsidering the past. It is of mutual interest to seek common ground on a constructive basis, the Bulgarian foreign minister underlined.

He stressed the new points in Bulgaria's relations with Romania and Albania that have emerged in result of the changes in those countries.

The Bulgarian foreign minister announced that Iraqi military personnel is not trained in Bulgaria and that there are not any Bulgarian military specialists in Iraq. Only at the beginning of the 60's there was a small group

of military medical workers in Iraq. The Bulgarian arms supplies for Iraq were stopped in 1988.

According to Mr. Boyko Dimitrov neither the Warsaw Treaty Organization nor NATO have exhausted their role. The Bulgarian Government is taking part in the restructuring of the Warsaw Treaty Organization and its mechanism carried out in view of the new realities. We are interested in preserving the guarantees this organization provides us with, we are interested in the guarantees provided by the bilateral cooperation and mutual assistance treaty we concluded with the Soviet Union, Mr. Boyko Dimitrov said. He reminded of Bulgaria's positive position on NATO's declaration of July 6 and her readiness to build up her relations with separate NATO member-nations. The foreign minister announced that the Bulgarian ambassador in Brussels will be accredited to NATO, too. With these explanations Minister Boyko Dimitrov answered the interpellation of an opposition M.P. who asked if it was not time for Bulgaria to leave the Warsaw Treaty Organization and join NATO. The parliamentary opposition group came out with a statement explaining that the view contained in the interpellation has nothing to do with the position of the Union of Democratic Forces on this matter.

## Assembly Condemns 1968 'Intervention' in CSFR

*AU2308135090 Sofia BTA in English 1320 GMT 23 Aug 90*

[Text] Sofia, August 23 (BTA)—The Grand National Assembly condemns the intervention of the Warsaw Treaty Organization Armed Forces in Czechoslovakia in 1968, defining it as an impermissible act of interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state and expressing deep regret that Bulgarian troops took part in this action, it is said in the declaration of the Bulgarian parliament adopted today. It is also pointed out that at the time the intervention prevented other countries in Eastern Europe from embarking on the road to democracy and humanism.

Let the declaration be considered by way of an apology to the Czech and the Slovak people and as an act of restoring historical justice, it is written in the declaration.

## Reasons Behind Mladenov's Resignation Debated

*AU2308202190 Sofia BTA in English 1941 GMT 23 Aug 90*

[Text] Sofia, 23 Aug (BTA)—A national representative of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms said in the Bulgarian Parliament today that there were other political reasons for former President Petur Mladenov's resignation besides the "fatal" video record containing the phrase about the tanks. He made this statement in connection with the setting up of a parliamentary commission to investigate all circumstances related to Mr. Mladenov's resignation. In their speeches some M.P.'s of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) also hinted that the resignation of the former president had to do with accommodating certain interests of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP).

Mr. Petur Mladenov has been recently restored to membership in the supreme leadership of the BSP.

Former President Mladenov gave in his resignation at the beginning of July under strong public pressure after in the election studio of the SDS a video record was broadcast which incriminated him of intentions to call tanks for dispersing a crowd of demonstrators on December 14 last year.

The SDS M.P.'s nominated for the commission begged to be struck off the list, motivating their wish with the fact that they believe the expert opinion of specialists and eminent Bulgarian directors who declared that the video material was authentic.

A BSP national representative accused the opposition of "being afraid of the truth" and that another expert check-up could yield a different result. At previous sittings of the Grand National Assembly the BSP national representatives insisted on an expert inspection with the participation of foreign specialists.

An opposition M.P. said that what BSP wanted was a political exhumation nobody needs.

The Bulgarian Agrarian Party parliamentary group voted against setting up such a commission.

## President Answers M.P.'s Charges of Neglect

*AU2308163790 Sofia BTA in English 1400 GMT 23 Aug 90*

[Text] Sofia, 23 Aug (BTA)—President Zhelyu Zhelev calls upon all people and national representatives to refrain from acts which could increase the social and economic tension in the country, it is said in today's statement of the president's spokesman, Mr. Valentin Stoyanov, made in connection with the statement the national representative of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, Mr. Dragomir Draganov, addressed to the president.

Mr. Draganov accused Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev of not fulfilling his obligations related to observing the Constitution and the law and to safeguarding citizens' rights and freedoms and declared he was going on a token strike which could turn into an effective one. In particular Mr. Dragomir Draganov objects against a feature published in DEMOKRATSIYA, the paper of the Union of Democratic Forces. In reply the spokesman reminded in his statement that there is freedom of speech and of the press in Bulgaria and that the head of state takes care to ensure respect of citizens' rights, but he cannot exercise these rights instead of the citizens.

## Zhelev Opens Talks on Formation of New Cabinet

*AU2308133790 Sofia BTA in English 1317 GMT 23 Aug 90*

[Text] Sofia, August 23 (BTA)—President Zhelyu Zhelev opened consultations with the major political forces represented in the Grand National Assembly on the formation of a new cabinet.

One after the other he received the leaders of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, the Bulgarian Agrarian Party and the Union of Democratic Forces.

The consultations initiated by the head of state are going on.

## SDS, Agrarian Leaders on Talks

*AU2308193090 Sofia BTA in English 1721 GMT 23 Aug 90*

["Opinions of Participants in Consultations on New Government"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 23 Aug (BTA)—"The Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) won the elections and it is entitled to form a cabinet. It has a programme for democratic socialism and it should carry it out now," Mr. Petko Simeonov, deputy chairman of the Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), told a BTA reporter, commenting on the consultations on the formation of a new cabinet held today.

"We will not enter any form of coalition with the BSP and Andrey Lukanov," the chairman of the Democratic Party (a member of the SDS), Mr. Boris Kyurkchiev, who took part in the consultations as a member of the opposition group, said. In his opinion it is not possible to form a cabinet of experts.

It was our most cherished dream to form a broad-based coalition government, but unfortunately for the time being it is unfeasible, the leader of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS), Mr. Viktor Vulkov, told a BTA reporter.

The BZNS sees it as a second variant to form a kind of government with the participation of representatives of the political forces. How it would be called and what form this government will take is not important, it may not be a formal coalition, but it would have the chance of doing good work and at the same time it would give assurance with its readiness for a future broader cooperation among the political forces, Mr. Vulkov said.

The BZNS leader did not rule out the possibility of proposing to the second biggest political forces in parliament—the SDS, to form a government if the BSP, which has a majority in the Grand National Assembly, fails to make up the new cabinet.

## Zhivkov's Defense Council on Forthcoming Trial

*AU2408125990 Sofia BTA in English 1024 GMT 24 Aug 90*

[Text] Sofia, 24 Aug (BTA)—Todor Zhivkov is awaiting a concrete indictment to present concrete evidence in his defence, Reni Tsanova, the counsel for the defence of former state leader Todor Zhivkov says in an interview given for ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME. She points out that there were several charges against Todor Zhivkov which have been abandoned, or at least it is known that they would not carry weight if included in the indictment. According to Tsanova the charges which are supported at the moment would undergo a serious correction.

Zhivkov's counsel for the defence considers that the blame of the former number one can hardly be pinpointed so that he be held personally responsible. The central idea in his position is that a huge part of the decisions which influenced the fate of the country were collectively made. Zhivkov has the feeling that in the situation when he headed the state he did his job in the best possible way, the counsel for the defence said.

From the talks she had with Zhivkov Tsanova has got the impression that he really wants to be given a hearing in the Bulgarian parliament, that his first letter was a spontaneous expression of his desire to speak there, thus addressing the whole people, too. Zhivkov has watched television in the presence of his counsel for the defence; he heard and saw the national representatives commenting on his first letter and how they decided to listen to him and, according to Ms. Tsanova, he was satisfied by what he heard. But later on, however, when they were discussing together Zhivkov's legal problems, he himself came to the conclusion that it all boiled down to his going there and "laying his soul bare." Tsanova believes Zhivkov has realized that many of the things he would like to say in parliament should be rather put forward as arguments in court.

According to the counsel for the defence there are 106 volumes of documents related to Zhivkov's case and each of them averages from 250 to 300 pages. In her opinion some materials are unimportant, actually a great part of them are irrelevant to the trial. All kinds of materials have been collected for different reasons, part of them merely for reinsurance, Reni Tsanova notes.

### Ministry Announces Ban on Iraqi Exports, Imports

*LD2308204990 Prague CTK in English 2013 GMT 23 Aug 90*

[Text] New York Aug 23 (CTK Correspondent)—Czechoslovakia's exports and imports from and to Iraq and Kuwait have been stopped, the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry said in response to the U.N. Security Council resolution appealing to states to impose sanctions on Iraq for the annexation of Kuwait.

The document of the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry, published here today, said that any foreign economic activity linked with the exports and imports to and from these countries has been stopped as well. Ban on customs clearance of all deliveries for Iraq and Kuwait as well as those coming from these countries has been imposed. Measures have been taken to prevent transfer of financial means to Iraq and Kuwait, the document said.

### Havel News Conference on Gulf, National Issues

*LD2308163290 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 23 Aug 90*

[News conference by President Vaclav Havel in Prague—live]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted on Havel's arrival. He announces he has just been rehabilitated; first question in Czech: How should the public apply pressure on government and parliament to implement swift changes? Havel is asked how happy he is with the work of the government; he answers saying voters know how to apply pressure and that government is doing its best. Question by Czechoslovak Television—will the security situation improve? Havel replies that interior ministries are drafting corresponding measures, that it is a question of public confidence in police. Question by Jiri Hrabovsky on the need to abolish stupid regulations mentioned by Havel: Why did parliament not deal with these regulations? Havel replies that parliament is working as quickly as possible and that deputies are entitled to a holiday. Question by Vych from Czechoslovak Radio on reasons for Havel's participation in this radio bridge; Havel answers that he wishes to talk about third world problems. Question from NEW YORK TIMES in Czech on Havel's specific ideas of removing economic mafias; Havel replies that mafias are not identical with the membership in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, CPCZ; he encounters the existence of mafias wherever he goes. Havel says there are many ways of facing these problems, such as speeding up appropriate laws and introducing effective measures; he notes the problem evokes hopelessness and apathy among people. Question on resignation of Slusovice Agricultural Cooperative chairman: What does Havel think about cooperatives of this kind? Havel replies this is a matter for appropriate bodies to deal with. Question on Havel's pronouncements on bureaucracy: Has the revolution ended or is another coming? Havel replies that this was discussed in the last talks in Lany, that the process started after 17 November must continue and be brought to a conclusion. He continues by saying that the matter did not end with election of a free parliament and that economic changes must be implemented very quickly because we live in a time when old system is crumbling and a new system has not come about; he says this is a dangerous period. Question from Benda of Czechoslovak Radio on personnel changes in the presidential office. Havel says that work on reconstructing this office is progressing intensely so that the president may carry out his functions properly; some people have already been hired, others will be appointed on the basis of competition. Question from Markusova from Czechoslovak Radio on what Havel considers to be priority during second phase of revolution. Havel replies that it is the econmic sphere; that the process of privatization must be started soon, and could be preceded by certain administrative steps; this is most topical in the sphere of economics and also in the sphere of civic ethics, where the danger of general resignation is real. Havel considers these moods very dangerous; the reconstruction of state administration and self-administration is also very important]

[Margolius] This is Margolius from the Signal editorial board. Mr. President, more and more people, who have no success with various offices and organizations as to their problems, turn to you as the last resort. They sit on the steps of your house in the evening or at night. I know of two specific cases—that was the case of several people who were at a loss as to how to tackle the problems concerning the Romanians; I know of a wife of one of our citizens who remained stranded in Kuwait if I may say so—in which you gave your help; things started moving the day after. Should this not, however, be handled by somebody else, should you not conserve your strength? In this way you might be concerned that the solid steps of the house built by your grandfather could soon collapse under the strain of applicants.

And—if you allow me—the second and more apt question—what would you convey to Mimon as to the advice of the furious local citizens, namely that you should take the Romanians to the Castle?

[Havel] As for the first question, it is indeed true that people turn to me with all sorts of things. They turn to the Castle, naturally, numerous delegations and citizens come here—the correspondence of the Chancellery has doubled. They are turning to me at home because they believe that the Chancellery will throw away their letters. Some people even come into my house, and we are trying to handle everything. That is our duty.

At the same time, we have to explain to the people, once again, that democracy does not consist of one president who solves everything and who even comes to see a person who has a damp apartment and dries it out, and so on. We are indeed trying to explain to them the mechanisms which, to a certain extent, are merely being born, to send them to places which have competence to handle the matters. We are trying, of course, to verify whether or not the institutions met their demands and handled the matters. If we do not do all that perfectly,

however, we have another argument in favor of reconstruction of the office and its adjustment to a new situation.

As for Mimon: I am very perturbed by the manifestations of radical resistance and it seemed to me that, tonight, the place in question was surrounded by the local citizens who tried to prevent the Romanians from moving in. It seems quite terrible to me, because the Czechs and the Slovaks have considered it as a matter of course for long decades that all countries will accept them if they wish to emigrate; now suddenly they behave in such a cruel way to the people who are really unfortunate. This seems sad to me. Not all of them behave in this way, however. There are many people who help the refugees, who collect clothes for them, and so on. At the moment, the deputy minister of the interior, who is a plenipotentiary for refugees, has gone to Vienna. It is possible that he will soon bring to Mimon the UN Comissar for Refugees who will examine the situation. If, however, in this country, we act as racists, we will have to forget about returning to Europe—that is clear.

[Vejvoda] Jiri Vejvoda, freelance radio journalist. It would appear that in today's Europe there is one quite hermetically sealed frontier, and that is the frontier between Czechoslovakia and Poland. It would appear to be rather by our own doing. There are views that the opening up of that frontier would ruin us economically, but there are other studies which have a basis for claiming something completely different. What is your view?

[Havel] I believe that it is necessary to abolish the iron curtain between Poland and Czechoslovakia. So far, the economic ministers in the government were against even small-scale cross- border contact. They were asking that the Czechoslovak-Polish commission look at it again.

Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the government will return to this very shortly. It is clear that the whole bureaucratic system of invitations came into being for political reasons during the previous regime, and I think that even if it could have certain consequences for the consumer market and so on, it is a basic political necessity to open the frontier just as they are open with our other neighboring countries.

[Mlynar] LIDOVE NOVINY, Mlynar. I would like to ask Mr. President whether you are taking an interest in the fate of soldier [Aleksandr] Maslyayev, as your Chancellery, at the very least, had a part in his handing over to the Soviet side, and whether you have taken any steps to ensure that this young man gets back to where he wanted to be—to Czechoslovakia?

[Havel] It is not true that our Chancellery had a part in some kind of return of this soldier to the Soviet side. On the contrary, when he asked for asylum here we got into contact with the Federal Ministry of the Interior, which promised that it would practically ensure asylum for him. At that point it was his own affair. I am very sorry that the Federal Ministry of the Interior did something which is just the opposite.

The inspectorate of the Ministry of the Interior is investigating whose fault this is, and if there is cause for criminal prosecution, the person concerned will be prosecuted. At the same time, we are taking an interest, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has taken steps in this matter, in the fate of the soldier. Reports so far state that he only got ten days' confinement to barracks, that is a disciplinary punishment, but we want somebody from our side to speak to him personally and with his relatives to learn the truth. If there is any problem with this, and if we do not find out anything about him, I will take this matter up personally with a telex to Mr. Gorbachev, or something similar.

I am sorry that this happened. Perhaps it is our mistake that we did not check up on the Federal Ministry of the Interior that it was in fact doing what it promised to do, but it once again comes down to one thing. It is not in the power of this Chancellery to check up on the activity of all state organs in every case, is it? It is a regrettable thing.

[Mary Hockaday, in English with superimposed translation into Czech] Mary Hockaday—BBC and INDEPENDENT. In the past, Mr. President, you said that it was necessary to carry out a purge among members of the old regime. Now you are taking a certain legalistic approach. Could you explain why there has been a change in your thinking, a move away from your original highly moral stand?

[Havel] If these mafia, which is the word being used at the moment, or the nomenclatura are slowing down the democratic development of this society and economic changes, and if they have at their disposal property which does not belong to them, then it is of course necessary to break up these structures, take these possibilities away from them, and in cases of criminal activity to investigate, and where necessary prosecute them. This appears to me to be quite obvious. It is something slightly different from a purge isn't it?

[Reporter] The Syrian newspaper AL-BA'TH. Mr. President, could you tell us in detail about the content of the message from the Amir of Kuwait, which you received recently? And the second question. In case of the outbreak of war in the tense area of the Gulf, does Czechoslovakia intend to do anything, to take certain steps, and, should this be the case, what steps will these be?

[Havel] Yes, the message contained thanks to Czechoslovakia for her unequivocal expression of disapproval of the occupation of Kuwait and for her very expedient joining in the embargo announced by the Security Council. In the event that the Security Council also adopts the resolution on a blockade, Czechoslovakia will consider the possibility of joining it.

[passage omitted in which unidentified correspondent asks a question about discrepancies in Havel's answers on stages in revolution, and about Havel's views on his cooperation with Zantovsky after his recent media affair; Havel answers the second question by saying that Zantovsky was not developing Havel's thoughts well and his pronouncements were misquoted; Havel says

Zantovsky submitted several resignations, which Havel did not accept; Havel then answers the first question by saying that he spoke about this issue in detail in his radio addresses and that he does not like to restate what he has already said; he explains again his ideas on postrevolutionary vaccum, when ideas to carry out another revolution come about; Havel says that in this second revolution he foresees a fresh mobilization of citizens, another activation of their feelings; Havel says this activation of feelings should carry over into ministries, which need to behave in a more resolute manner; an unidentified CTK correspondent next asks Havel if the Civic Forum wants government posts; Havel answers that this is up to the voters; an unidentified correspondent next asks what should be the qualification of new economic managers; Havel answers that this is a complex situation and that newcomers must be honest and have a good professional background; Havel says that in many spheres the professional standard cannot be attained because professionalism was denied in the past to many good, honest people; an unidentified correspondent next poses a question about the Civic Forum, asking if it is not demagogy that the Civic Forum bears all attributes and advantages of a political party; the correspondent asks if the Civic Forum should not turn itself into a political party. Havel explains that the Civic Forum came into being as a broad movement and points to the need to find a new identity for Civic Forum; Havel says that Civic Forum will not be a proper political party; Havel says that as for unjustly gained assets of other political parties, a new way of supporting new political parties and movements will have to be found; Havel says that this process is not aimed against the People's Party; an unidentified correspondent next asks a question on possible danger of the Trencianske Teplice meeting; he asks Havel if he knows anything about training of Iraqi cadets at a Czechoslovak military faculty in Brno; Havel answers the first question, saying he does not think there is a danger in this meeting, it was a working meeting; Havel answers the second question by saying that he visited the academy in Brno, where there were 150 foreigners; Havel says he does not recall seeing Iraqis there, and that he will ask about this issue again; an unidentified CTK correspondent next asks if the background of 17 November will be elucidated; Havel answers that work on explaining these events is still in progress, and that he firmly believes that the truth must and will be told; Havel says of 17 November that he personally believes that there was no complete prearranged scenario]

[(Preucil)] (Preucil) from MEZINARODNI VZTAHY [INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS]. Mr. President, here is yet another question concerning our close neighbors. What is your view of our present relations with Hungary, in particular with the last Hungarian statement or rather announcement concerning the traditionally good relations with the Czech Republic and, on the other hand, certain worrisome signs existing in relations with Slovakia? Do you think that a certain link exists with the nationalist trends, which are getting stronger in the Slovak Republic?

[Havel] I regard relations with Hungary and with President Goncz, who came here on a visit recently, to be truly friendly. If there are debates around Hungarian minority position in Slovakia and so on, then this is quite understandable, because a system existed in both countries for many long years which attempted to make everything uniform, to wipe out all demonstrations of independence, including national independence. Its minority policy was no good and everything—from Vladivostok to Prague—had to look alike.

It is clear that after this system had crumbled and after this divergence has suddenly come to light in a publicly articulated shape that around this issue are obviously arising various conjectures, tensions, speculations, emotions, and so on. It is simply necessary to draft appropriate legislation. We had quite detailed discussion with the Hungarian side on this topic and to me this does not appear to be a serious crisis component in the present situation.

[passage omitted in which correspondent Netz from Czechoslovak Television asks Havel if he is not lacking a variety of proposals on new issues with regard to the fact that key positions are held by his friends; Havel answers that these friends frequently have different views of things; an unidentified correspondent asks if it is necessary to emphasize social aspects of reforms when introducing market economy in Czechoslovakia; Havel answers that social dimensions must be observed; an unidentified correspondent next asks a question of Bartoncik's resignation, asking Havel if he would tell of his last preelection conversation with Bartoncik; Havel answers that at a previous news conference it was said that Dr Bartoncik made a promise he did not carry out but, Havel says, he has pledged himself to silence on this issue; an unidentified correspondent next asks Havel if he can speak more specifically about his conversation with the Mexican president; Havel answers that they exchanged information about economic reforms in the two countries; Havel says that promising possibilities in mutual cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Mexico are opening up, especially in exports of engineering products and oil supplies from Mexico]

[Kacer] LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE, Kacer. Mr. President, I would like to return to the Bartoncik case once again. You promised to be silent on this case, but if there is a trial and you are called as a witness, will you then speak?

[Havel] Yes, I will speak. [laughter from audience]

## CTK Summary of News Conference

*LD2308184790 Prague CTK in English 1634 GMT 23 Aug 90*

[Text] Prague Aug 23 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel told newsmen today he was disquieted by manifestations of racism by Czechoslovak people towards Romanian refugees. "If we behave as racists in this country, we can well forget the talk about return to Europe", he stated.

Reacting to the critical stance of part of the Czechoslovak public on the stay of Romanian refugees in Czechoslovakia, he said that "the Czechs and the Slovaks considered it logical for the long decades that all countries would accept them when they would seek asylum, and now suddenly they behave in such a cruel way to people who are really in a misery". He pointed out that possibly the U.N. commissioner for refugees will come to Czechoslovakia.

Speaking about the conflict in the Persian Gulf, the president said that if the U.N. Security Council approves a resolution on a blockade, "Czechoslovakia will consider possible ways of joining it".

He described the present Czechoslovak-Hungarian relations as friendly and spoke in favour of the streamlining of travel regulations between Czechoslovakia and Poland.

He expressed regret at the Czechoslovak Interior Ministry refusal to grant political asylum to Soviet soldier Aleksandr Maslyayev, who asked for it on April 17, 1990 but was returned to Soviet authorities. President Havel stated that Czechoslovak authorities are interested in his fate and that, in his opinion, criminal proceedings could be started against the person who made such a decision.

The president paid much attention to the surviving bureaucratic structures in Czechoslovakia and the efforts by some communist activists to hold their positions in the economic sphere. He rejected an automatic identification of the economic mafia with membership in the Czechoslovak Communist Party. He pointed out that the revolution which started in Czechoslovakia in November 1989 has not yet been finished and that privatization and administrative measures must be taken in order to achieve this. In his opinion, each Czechoslovak citizen should expose and paralyse this economic mafia, not just complain of it.

President Havel went on to say that pressure on the Czechoslovak Parliament and the Czechoslovak Government to approve measures should be exerted in a constructive way and that strikes and demonstrations are, in his opinion, an extreme means to force demands.

Commenting on the present search for a new model of coexistence of the Czechs and the Slovaks in a federal state, he said that the situation is not ripe for a referendum on the division of the Czechoslovak state into two parts. According to public opinion polls, the division of Czechoslovakia into two separate states is favoured by five per cent of the Czechs and eight per cent of the Slovaks, or six per cent on the Czechoslovak scale. In the president's opinion, it is little for a referendum. The desire for division would have to be more apparent.

Vaclav Havel rejected critical remarks that the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly is not active. Although it is not to meet in full session until September 18, parliamentary and deputy clubs can work by that time and the parliament presidium can pass a number of legal measures. This will certainly happen, the president said.

He pointed out that the full truth on the events in November 1989 which resulted in the fall of the communist regime in Czechoslovakia must be found out. He demanded the same in the case of Czechoslovak People's Party Chairman Josef Bartoncik who was accused of intentional cooperation with the former secret police (STB) in spring 1990 but has denied all accusations so far.

Vaclav Havel said about the Civic Forum that now it seeks new identity but will not change into a classical political party.

### New Movement Plans To Declare Slovak Independence

*LD2308193890 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 23 Aug 90*

[Excerpt] [Announcer] Newsmen in Bratislava have received a very interesting news item from the Slovak Government's press secretary, who spoke to them about a delicate—so to speak—issue. The "Radio Journal" program was represented at the meeting by our colleague Michal Tvarozek:

[Tvarozek] Perhaps the hastily called press briefing on a statement by the Resistance Movement Against Public Against Violence [Hnutie Odporu Proti Verejnosti Proti Nasiliu, RMAPAV] a newly registered organization—would probably not merit attention in different circumstances. Martin Hrib, the [Slovak Government's] press secretary, said, however, that more and more such statements are appearing.

What does the statement say? Well it says that the RMAPAV, with the participation of representatives of the Christian Democratic Movement and the Slovak National Party, met on 18 August in Zilina and agreed that at the Slovak national commemoration of Andrej Hlinka, which is taking place in Ruzomberok this Saturday and Sunday [25 and 26 August], they are to declare an independent Slovakia headed by a president, Dr. Jan Carnogursky.

What kind of independent Slovakia might they be talking about? Well, we find that out from the second point of their statement, and I quote: Instructions have been given for small-scale commemorative rallies to take place in the regions on 21 August in connection with the internationalist assistance by the Warsaw Pact countries in putting down the counterrevolution.

In the third and final point the unknown and unsigned participants at the plenum of the RMAPAV call for President Havel not to take part in the celebration of the Slovak National Uprising in Banska Bystrica.

It is not clear whether this is just a pamphlet, an attempt at provocation, or a real movement whose aim is to set up a Slovak state. In any case it runs counter to the levelheaded efforts to create a true federation. If we read the demand in point 2 carefully—commemorative celebrations of the internationalist assistance—we have, on the one hand, doubts about the declared independence of

Slovakia, and, on the other hand, the conviction that its future orientation looks east.

A couple of hours ago, the Slovak National Party issued a statement saying that it dissociated itself from any provocations at the Slovak national commemoration of Andrej Hlinka, and similarly Mr. Carnogursky has dissociated himself from this pamphlet. [passage omitted in which Slovak Prosecutor's Office official says the statement is irrelevant, but the authors cannot be prosecuted for merely issuing a statement unless it constitutes incitement to violence]

### Attempt to Declare Slovak Independence Foreseen

*LD2308205190 Prague CTK in English 2003 GMT 23 Aug 90*

[Text] Bratislava Aug 23 (CTK)—Slovak Premier's press spokesman Martin Hric told journalists today that an attempt to declare an independent Slovak state can be expected in Ruzomberok, central Slovakia, on August 25-26.

This act should take place in the course of an event commemorating leader of the Slovak autonomy movement Andrej Hlinka (1864-1938).

Slovak first deputy general prosecutor Ladislav Cendula said that such an act would have no legal impact. Neither an individual or a political party are authorized to conduct this act. Only Slovak legislative bodies have powers in this respect.

Andrej Hlinka established in 1918 the Hlinka people's party, which pursued militant nationalism during the war-time facist- oriented Slovak state. It was banned after the liberation of Slovakia.

### SNS Chairman Upholds Call for Independence

*AU2408094390 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 16 Aug 90 pp 1, 2*

[Interview with Vitazoslav Moric, chairman of the Slovak National Party, by SMENA correspondent Dusan Petrak; place and date not given: "It Is a Long While Since We Were Shepherds"; first paragraph is SMENA introduction]

[Text] The relatively calm mood of the summer has been upset by the statement which was issued on Tuesday [14 August] by 10 Slovak political parties and movements. This statement can clearly be qualified as adding another piece of wood under the simmering goulash of an independent Slovak Republic. We were curious about further details.

[Petrak] Let us first get the time context straight. Why did you meet now to adopt this statement?

[Moric] The date of the meeting had been agreed some time ago, even before the well-known meeting [of federal, Czech, and Slovak government representatives] of Trencianske Teplice. The initiative for the meeting came from the Independent Party of Slovaks and our Slovak National Party [SNS].

[Petrak] In the statement, however, you react to the conclusions from that meeting, not all of which are fully known. To what do you object most?

[Moric] We object, above all, to the fact that we do not know all the conclusions because they have not been published. We object, furthermore, to the fact that the meeting was, in fact, about us, yet without us. There are issues which only the Slovak National Council is qualified to decide. It is not a question of coming to an agreement. There are things on which it is impossible to agree. I am thinking of national issues, which must be decided here, at home. It must be clear to everyone that the fate of our republic must be decided by our nation and by no one else. My evaluation of the meeting of Trencianske Teplice is that it did not, in fact, resolve anything.

[Petrak] Do I understand you correctly in that you are opposed to the fate of the Slovak Republic being the subject of negotiations with representatives of the Czech Republic?

[Moric] No, I am not at all opposed to that. But it should take a different form. Above all, there should not be so much secrecy around it.

[Petrak] Let me move to the participation of individual parties at your meeting. What happened to the other opposition parties? Did you, for example, contact representatives of the Communist Party of Slovakia?

[Moric] Not in this case.

[Petrak] And other political parties?

[Moric] Only those parties received an invitation which actually showed up.

[Petrak] No one refused to take part?

[Moric] No one from the parties which we had invited. Moreover, others also came.

[Petrak] We have arrived at a very important aspect. Wednesday [15 August] morning, CTK issued a statement by the leadership of the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] in which it dissociates itself from the content of your statement and draws attention to the fact that the KDH representative attended the meeting as an observer only.

[Moric] This is an embarrassing matter. All attending parties can confirm that there never was any talk at the meeting about the KDH representative having the status of an observer. Mr. Zigo from the KDH never said anything to this effect.

[Petrak] Did he sign the statement or did he at least raise his hand in support of it?

[Moric] There was no signing of the statement. We agreed that everyone would be all the other attending parties' witness. The KDH representative agreed with all points contained in the statement.

[Petrak] The greatest commotion has no doubt been stirred by the demand for the formation of a sovereign and independent Slovak Republic. In which form do you perceive it?

[Moric] In the form of an independent Slovak Republic. Let me quote Andrej Hlinka: "Is there a nation in the world which would not want to be independent?" We want to conduct our own affairs and do it our way.

[Petrak] The statement contains, furthermore, the threat of a day of national protest on 6 October 1990 if the Slovak National Council fails to immediately adopt a law declaring Slovak the official state language on the territory of Slovakia without exception. Are you planning to stage a strike?

[Moric] The protest should involve neither a strike nor a work stoppage. We do not want to ruin our economy but we want the masses to show that they simply want to have their own language. It should be a demonstrative [manifestacni] protest.

[Petrak] You have not specified when the law must be passed....

[Moric] Everything will become clear after the coming sessions of the Slovak National Council.

[Petrak] Have you already received some reactions to your statement?

[Moric] Only by phone. The proportion is about 25 to 1 in favor of the statement.

[Petrak] We have here reactions from Prague and they all are negative. You are even being called a Slovak fascist....

[Moric] Look at me to see whether I am a fascist or not. They claim that even Hlinka was a fascist and that says it all. Apparently, some Czech gentlemen designate as a fascist everyone who is inconvenient to them and whose views differ from theirs.

[Petrak] Let us try to correct their views. What is your opinion on Jozef Tiso?

[Moric] It is not clear-cut because historians have not informed us truthfully about Dr. Jozef Tiso. This is also true of information about [Edvard] Benes. It is possible to say that this former president took Czechoslovakism to extremes. He first sold us to fascists and then to the Bolsheviks. No personality can be evaluated as being only white or only black.

[Petrak] You have managed to stir up public opinion. What will come next?

[Moric] First and foremost, we must formulate and develop our national economic program. As soon as possible, we must achieve in Slovakia at least the same level of prosperity as exists in Austria.

[Petrak] This is what we hear from every party nowadays. To wind up the interview, tell me whether Slovakia's independence will contribute to our faster economic growth and faster return to Europe.

[Moric] Many people in the Czech Republic claim that we are a nation of shepherds. But it is a long while since we were shepherds. Personally, I am convinced that as an independent and sovereign state the Slovak Republic will develop much faster.

[Petrak] Let every reader draw his own conclusions. As food for thought, we offer two fresh episodes from Vitazoslav Moric's life. A few days ago he miraculously emerged alive from a mysterious traffic accident. The day before yesterday a firecracker was set off near him. What will happen next?

## Slovak Miners Call for Separate Power Industry

*LD2308205690 Prague CTK in English 2011 GMT 23 Aug 90*

[Text] Prague Aug 23 (CTK)—Representatives of Slovak miners called today for a fuel and power industry in Slovakia separate from the rest of Czechoslovakia and controlled by the Slovak Government.

They presented their demand to Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar today. The premier said that coal consumption in Czechoslovakia cannot be met only from the Czech Republic and there are prospects of coal mining in Slovakia. Any phasing out of production should be done with great care and with related steps. The views of the Federal and Slovak Governments are thus not identical, the premier said.

Meanwhile, miners in the north Moravian Paskov area demanded that the Communist Party, which caused the degradation of the mining profession and declares itself to be a workers' party, contribute to compensation to miners for injuries to their health.

They sent a letter to Communist Party Chairman Ladislav Adamec. Miners are grappling with many problems, both economic and social, which accumulated over many years when "the totalitarian regime led by your party used the initiative and work dedication of miners for its profit and glory".

Two miners from the largest coal basin in Ostrava, north Moravia, went on hunger strike tonight demanding retirement for miners at 50 after 15 years' underground work and social security for old and sick ones.

## VEREJNOST Views Slovak Parties Declaration

*AU2408100590 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 16 Aug 90 p 1*

["(RZD)"-signed commentary: "Sparks in the Political Background"]

[Text] Even those who do not follow political movements in Slovakia in detail were certainly startled by Tuesday's [14 August] declaration by seven extraparliamentary and two parliamentary parties and movements, which was announced to the public on television on the same day by one of the organizers of this meeting and chairman of the Slovak National Party, Mr. Moric. The first startling fact is that the participants issued a declaration in which at least one point grossly distorts reality. Serious doubts about a knowledge of the political alphabet, elementary correctness, and also a lack of normal acquaintance with public knowledge, are roused by the formulation of the very first point in the declaration. Last week's Trencianske Teplice meeting is described here in a distorted way as a "meeting of the Public Against Violence movement [VPN] and the Civic Forum [OF]....which was interpreted as a decision made by two national governments." Any citizen, who has even less-than-average information, knows that this was not a VPN and OF meeting, but that it was a meeting between the national republics' premiers and the representatives of the federal government, that it had a consultative nature, and that that is why—as it has been publicly stressed by its participants many times—this meeting could not have adopted, and did not intend to adopt either, any decisions.

Any pronouncements about various laws—disregarding how they would correspond to our legal standards and international obligations, and without considering what their impact would be—is hazardous. The same thing applies to the idea of an autonomous, independent Slovak Republic. Without considering all negative impact, it is a sheerly irresponsible and demagogic slogan.

The second factor—and an even more important one—is the impact that this declaration could have had on the activity of the government's coalition. The VPN, the Christian Democratic Movement, and the Democratic Party agreed in the government declaration upon a joint course of action for a period of two years, which represents the election period. One of the principles contained in this government declaration is also the development of all the possibilities leading to an authentic change in the constitutional arrangement of our country, thus avoiding destabilizing the situation and destroying hopes for finding solutions to our problems in the foreseeable future.

It is good that the Christian Democratic Movement, which participated in the meeting, distanced itself from the declaration the next day and re-adopted the principles of the government program.

The very fact that the sequence of events was very rapid testifies to the fact that the political background has recently been scintillating. Based on the development of the situation and on the inconsistent standpoints of one of the coalition's partners, it is probable that it is too soon to speak about a definitive warding off of the situation, which is called a government crisis in parliamentary democracies. On thing is sure, however. This country, Slovakia, and the federation need such political earthquakes least of all. Among many other things, there is a relatively very simple prescription: not to surrender to the moods that are in vogue, but to respect—and all the partners should do so—the principal questions of the policy statement of the coalition government—without any exceptions, as we are used to saying today.

## Official Reacts to Call for Convening Parliament

*LD2308121690 Prague CTK in English 1050 GMT 23 Aug 90*

[Text] Prague Aug 23 (CTK)—Deputy Chairman of the House of Nations of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly Jan Sokol today reacted negatively to efforts of some members of parliament to speedily convene a joint session of the parliament's two houses.

Some members of parliament recently proposed that the parliamentary recess be terminated and that parliament should go into session to discuss the relations between Czechs and Slovaks.

In an interview for CTK, Jan Sokol said that Czech-Slovak relations are at present a subject of discussions during which various options are sought. "Only when experts agree upon them will it have any sense to submit to parliament a concrete proposal," Sokol said.

The Federal Assembly Office announced on Wednesday that the Czechoslovak president will call parliament into its autumn session probably from September 17, 1990. According to information available to CTK, it is neither extraordinary nor speedy.

## Commission Meets on Nuclear Plant Safety

*LD2308194190 Prague CTK in English 1819 GMT 23 Aug 90*

[Text] Prague Aug 23 (CTK)—Minister Josef Vavrousek, chairman of the committee for the environment, told journalists today that a Czechoslovak commission had concluded that the V 1 nuclear power plant in Jaslovske Bohunice, west Slovakia, did not need to be closed down.

He said that a team of experts from the West German Siemens Company and a commission of Austrian experts reached the same conclusion.

The minister, speaking after a government session, said that the Czechoslovak commission found out that the material from which the Soviet reactors are made has a lower service life than expected. Measures will therefore be taken to increase the safety of the plant's operation. However, it need not be closed down.

The inspections were invited to the plant at Jaslovske Bohunice following protests in Austria over alleged insufficient safety of the station close to the Czechoslovak border.

Kvetoslavfa Korinkova, minister of control, said that September 6 was unfeasible as the expected date of the start-up of an oil hydrocracking plant in Bratislava. The plant, much needed as the Soviet Union is cutting its oil supplies to East European states, was long to have been in operation but defects caused by Czechoslovak producers as well as insufficient checks on foreign supplies, plus an accident and a fire, have delayed the operation. The minister said that the results of an inquiry would be made available for possible criminal charges.

The government discussed the construction of highways between Plzen and Rozvadov on the border with West Germany, and from Bratislava to the Hungarian and Austrian borders. It said that Czechoslovak companies should be stimulated to help finance the projects and also the participation of foreign firms was considered.

Minister Vavrousek said that it will take many years and considerable costs to remove damage caused by Soviet troops on Czechoslovak territory. For instance, underground water is polluted by oil products to the depth of four metres at some places. Only geological survey will cost 150 million crowns. Soviet troops often do not want to sign the transfer protocols which may be the only document for talks on the damages later.

### Criminal Proceedings Dropped Against Ruml

*LD2308192690 Prague CTK in English 1716 GMT 23 Aug 90*

[Text] Prague Aug 23 (CTK)—The Czech General Prosecutor's Office announced today that charges had been dropped against Deputy Interior Minister Jan Ruml over the publication of information about the relations of Czechoslovak People's Party Chairman Josef Bartoncik with the former secret police STB.

The criminal proceedings were started at the request of the People's Party for the criminal act of defamation and interference with elections.

The information was made public by Jan Ruml on June 6, two days before the general elections in Czechoslovakia, and later elaborated at a press conference. These events followed Bartoncik's reception by President Havel who later said that Bartoncik promised to him he would withdraw from public life. As he failed to do so, Ruml made his announcement. The People's Party considered it damaging to its chances in the elections and filed the suit against Ruml saying the information was not true.

The Prosecutor's Office said that the investigation did not confirm the charges against Ruml. He based his announcement on objective and credible materials and did not misinterpret them. His information was confirmed by additional evidence, the report said. It was clear from the evidence that Bartoncik was a secret STB agent in Brno between 1971 and 1988 and supplied information on his party to the STB. With one exception, the content of this information was not precisely found out due to the destruction of STB documents and the process of forgetting on the part of the witnesses, the Prosecutor's Office said.

The case whether the suit could also apply to current Deputy Premier Pavel Rychetsky, who as Czech prosecutor general also appeared at the press conference where Ruml made his announcement, is being turned over to the Czechoslovak Prosecutor's Office because of possible bias by the staff of the national prosecutor's office.

### Soviet Troop Withdrawal on Schedule

*LD2308193790 Prague CTK in English 1832 GMT 23 aug 90*

[Text] Prague Aug 23 (CTK)—The Soviet withdrawal is advancing in line with schedule. Altogether 35,514 Soviet soldiers and 19,367 family members have left the country from last February until August 23.

Withdrawn were also 664 tanks, 976 combat vehicles and armoured carriers, 9,602 lorries, 30 launching pads, 706 guns, 212 anti- aircraft defence weapons, 62 planes and 92 helicopters.

The withdrawal, which will take place in three stages, should be finished next June.

### USSR Ambassador Marks Invasion Anniversary

*AU2408093490 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 22 Aug 90 p 4*

[CTK report: "B. Pankin at the Statue of St. Wenceslas"]

[Text] Prague—Boris Pankin, the Soviet ambassador, was one of the hundreds of people who laid flowers at the statue of St. Wenceslas yesterday, on the occasion of the 22d anniversary of the occupation of Czechoslovakia by the armies of the Soviet Union and four other Warsaw Pact member states.

"By doing so, I wanted to express my feelings, as well as those of the Soviet people, about the events of 22 years ago," he said. "Feelings of our repentance and apology, but also the feeling of joy over the fact that there were also people in our country who went to Moscow's Red Square on 25 August 1968 to protest on behalf of the whole nation against the action in Czechoslovakia. I also wanted to express my hopes for the future, hopes for good relations between our nations, because the admission of guilt and atonement are good prerequisites of promising and eternal relations."

### 532 Romanian Asylum-Seekers Registered

*AU2408093690 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 22 Aug 90 p 2*

[CTK report]

[Text] According to Jan Ruml, the government commissioner for refugees, there are now 532 Romanian citizens

registered on our territory. A total of 347 persons, including 55 children, have found temporary accommodation at several locations in Prague. They all are provided with basic medical and social care. The rest—a total of 185 Romanian citizens, 33 of them children—have found shelter at Zastavka near Brno, where they all receive the necessary medical and social care.

## VPN 'Commentary' on Language Law

*AU2408101390 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 16 Aug 90 p 2*

[A Public Against Violence (VPN) Coordinating Center commentary on the language law: "We Need a Feeling of Security"]

[Text] The issue of establishing the Slovak language as the official language rose for a number of reasons. One of these reasons is the growing number of cases in which the valid Constitution is not respected in localities with a mixed ethnic population and the discrimination against Slovaks living on such territories. Another reason is a feeling of insecurity—which has spread to other Slovak territories—that is, that Slovak nationals cannot communicate in the Slovak language throughout Slovak territory. The unsolved issue in the valid Constitution also plays a role; from the spirit of the Constitution, it ensues that Slovak and Czech languages are official languages on CSFR territory, yet this is not stated explicitly. The last group of problems is made up of deeper social, historical, economic, and cultural problems regarding the coexistence of the Slovak nation alongside ethnic minorities; these problems have survived for decades and have found their expression in the official language issue.

There are two forms of positive solutions. The first is a change in attitude, adopted by a part of the Slovak nation and by the ethnic minorities toward their coexistence. This would mean, above all, reinforcing the ethnic minorities' attitude toward statehood, their acceptance of the Slovak language as the language of the country in which these minorities live—the mastering of which is anticipated by all international standards—and it would also mean that the Slovak nation would have a distinct feeling that it has reliable partners among the ethnic minorities. This is a long-term solution, which anticipates, among other things, a better mutual acquaintance. The fact that the awareness of a common statehood and a common life is close to the thinking of an overwhelming majority of ethnic minorities' members speaks in favor of this solution. This cannot be substituted by any law or Constitution—be it formulated in the best possible manner—but only mutual confidence can contribute to this.

A second possibility, which would create a feeling of legal certainty and which would decrease tension, is a solution to the language issue. The Public Against Violence movement [VPN] has been aware of this possibility since January 1990 and participated in drafting the Slovak Constitution, which, under Article 34, Section 3, explicitly solves this problem by stating that Slovak is the official language, while also making the use of the Czech language in official contacts possible. At the same time, in Section 4, it also makes it possible to use the language of ethnic minorities on the territories with mixed nationalities.

What are the positive aspects of this solution? Above all, it literally defines Slovak as the official language and thus removes the uncertainty connected with its use throughout Slovak territory (while anticipating the use of Slovak in official contacts in the Czech Republic). Such a solution is usual also in those European countries in which the citizens of many nations and nationalities live together, and this solution does not violate any European standards or international obligations. At the same time, this solution does not deprive the members of ethnic minorities of their rights and is in harmony with all the obligations of our republic, starting with the Saint-Germain agreement of 1920 and ending with the Copenhagen agreement of 1990. It corresponds to the yearning of 82 percent of Slovaks, who, according to the representative polls conducted by the VPN's Center for Research into Social Problems in July this year, were in favor of adopting the language law, while saying that it would be impossible to deprive the minorities of their rights, yet it would be necessary to clearly determine the right of Slovaks to use Slovak throughout Slovak territory and throughout the republic. This natural feeling for due rights and justice is the most positive aspect of the demand for establishing Slovak as the official language. This feeling is characteristic of a large majority of Slovaks, even of those living on ethnically mixed territories, and this feeling has also been frequently expressed by Slovak Heritage Foundation members, who were the initiators of the draft language law.

Currently, the need to accept the language law before the new Slovak constitution is adopted is generally recognized. During the talks between the VPN and individual parties and movements, which were held on the VPN's initiative in recent weeks, this common opinion has been confirmed. At the same time, all parties and movements expressed their unequivocal opinion that the language law must be drafted in such a way as to give the Slovak nation a clear feeling of certainty when using the Slovak language throughout Slovak territory, and in the CSFR as well, while not removing this certainty from the members of the Czech nation, and while making it possible for the ethnic minorities to use their language on the territories where they live. Those are, so to speak, barriers within which we must move if we want to respect legality and the law as the principal prerequisites of democracy, and if we want to meet our international obligations and those international standards which would allow us to call ourselves a European country. We do not want to become a country in decay. We want to be a country of economic and spiritual prosperity. We have all the prerequisites for this. The only thing with which we must not gamble is our good name, as do those who,

by emphasizing Slovak rights, want to deprive the Czech nation and ethnic minorities of their rights.

The Slovak Government, in harmony with its policy statement, is preparing a new language law. The Public Against Violence movement is its initiator and will make efforts to ensure that it meets all legal criteria and obligations. We are putting the destiny of the Slovak nation before irresponsibility and hazard.

## Hungarian Minority Groups Agree on Language Law

*AU2408073790 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 17 Aug 90 p 2*

[Statement by the press secretary of the Public Against Violence Coordinating Center: "On the Language Law"]

[Text] Representatives of the Public Against Violence movement and the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement met on 16 August 1990. Their discussion chiefly concerned the question of a language law. In the course of the meeting they briefed each other on their positions on this issue and also in the broader context. They agreed that the tension in the [ethnically] mixed territories can be alleviated only gradually, through a businesslike analysis of a wide range of problems which had accumulated in the past and by solving them.

Yesterday, representatives of the Public Against Violence movement also met with representatives of the Coexistence movement. They exchanged information on their findings as regards the issue of the law. They agreed on the need for such a law. However, its formulation must be in accord with the efforts to democratize social life, with international standards, and with the interests and legal guarantees of all citizens. The participants in the discussion noted that, to a large extent, the ethnic tensions on the territory of Slovakia are a product of a lack of information. They therefore agreed to support objective studies of these problems, their publication, and discussions on them.

## GERMAN UNIFICATION

*Notice to Readers: In order to provide information concerning German unification in one location for the benefit of our readers, material on that topic from the FRG, GDR, and other media is now being published in the German Unification Attachment to the West Europe DAILY REPORT.*

### Majority of Citizens Against NATO Membership

*AU2408094990 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 Aug 90 p 2*

[ADN report: "GDR Citizens Support Unity, Clearly Reject NATO"]

[Text] Berlin—About 90 percent of GDR citizens are in favor of the unification of the two German states. Yet half of them believe that everything is going too fast and 68.6 percent perceive many problems for unification. Only one percent is strictly against unity. This is the result of a survey by letter sponsored by the Berlin Social Analysis Foundation, which was presented to press representatives in Berlin on Wednesday [15 August]. The results of the survey, which was carried out in July, are part of a research project on the GDR people's change of identities.

According to the analysis, 52.3 percent of the citizens expect only a gradual improvement of their standard of living in connection with the economic, monetary, and social union. Only 5.3 percent have unclouded hopes, while 28.2 percent fear that their situation will deteriorate. An overwhelming majority spoke out in favor of laying down in an all-German constitution certain regulations such as the right to work, the state's obligation to provide social security for the citizens, the right to hold referenda, the ban of neo-fascist and racist organizations, as well as women's right to abortion.

There has been no clear answer to the question of a united Germany's membership in an alliance. A total of 86.9 percent of GDR citizens are in favor of a new system of European security, 11.2 percent are in favor of NATO membership, whereas only 0.3 percent are for membership in the Warsaw Pact.

The concern about their jobs is the dominant reason that more than half of those asked reject foreign workers in a united Germany. Moreover, it was stated that the alien way of life does not fit into the country and that the Germans have nothing to give away. Yet 41.6 percent stated that they have nothing against foreign workers. In the opinion of 68 percent of those in favor of foreign workers the freedom of movement must apply to all.

### PLO Military Training in GDR Ends 20 Aug

*LD2308171590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1621 GMT 23 Aug 90*

[Excerpt] Ruegen (ADN)—Military training for PLO members in the GDR was broken off finally on Monday [20 August]. This was announced to domestic and foreign journalists today during an informational visit, which lasted several hours, at the Prora officers' academy (on Ruegen Island), the only GDR training establishment for foreign military personnel.

According to Lieutenant Wolfang Haendler, the senior officer for civic affairs at the academy, more than 50 Palestinian soldiers had been trained at the academy, "but never citizens from Iraq or Libya." Haendler said that at present 150 of the formerly 550 trainees are still in active training. The Governments of Cuba and North Korea have already cancelled their contracts. [passage omitted]

### BILD Says Honecker's Memoirs Not Authorized

*AU2408092190 Hamburg BILD in German 23 Aug 90 pp 1, 4*

[Unattributed report: "DM1.2-Million Turmoil About Honecker's Memoirs"]

[Excerpts] There is a great deal of turmoil about Erich Honecker. Yesterday the new GDR magazine SUPER ILLU reported excitedly that he is writing his biography. [passage omitted]

BILD found out the truth: Honecker's memoirs are not genuine. Two authors offered them to West German newspapers for 1.2 million Deutsche marks [DM]. [passage omitted]

In reality, Honecker first answered the questions of a historian and journalist. However, when they delivered the manuscript there was a quarrel. Honecker withdrew his consent to its publication. Nevertheless, the authors offered it to DER SPIEGEL and STERN for DM1.2 million. However, both magazines declined this offer after Honecker's lawyers had warned them that Honecker's memoirs are not authorized. Shortly afterward, the authors themselves withdrew the manuscript.

A Honecker confidant told BILD: "Mr. Honecker will write his memoirs and they will also certainly be preprinted. However, all this will still take some time."

Honecker's biographer Dieter Borkowski told BILD: "The construction of the Wall and the order to shoot were resolved by the Politburo of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED]. At that time, Honecker was Walter Ulbricht's crown prince. Anything else would be outrageous lies."

## Antall Rejects MAGYAR HIRLAP Statement

*LD2308102590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0700 GMT 23 Aug 90*

[Text] Prime Minister Antall has rejected the article published on Tuesday [21 August] in MAGYAR HIRLAP, according to which he and his government foresee a national and Christian united Europe, whereas these ideologies are alien to Western Europe.

In an exclusive statement to MAGYAR HIRLAP, Jozsef Antall said that, for him—besides Christian and national values—a united Europe also embodies liberal constitutional statehood and social care. Jozsef Antall stressed that, for example, the Hungarian Democratic Forum is not ideological, but a program party and does not handle the nationality issue in a nationalistic way.

The prime minister also rejected allegations that he neglects the role of social democracy in Europe. Jozsef Antall said that he considers it a mistake that the Social Democratic Party disappeared from Hungarian political life because it is a fundamental interest of Hungary to have links with every large European trend.

## Support for Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty

*LD2308184490 Budapest MTI in English 1722 GMT 23 Aug 90*

[Text] Geneva, August 23 (MTI)—Ferenc Somogyi, state secretary of foreign affairs, made his contribution to the 4th review conference on the operations of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty in Geneva on Thursday.

On behalf of the new Hungarian Government, Somogyi reafirmed Hungary's commitment to the political goals laid down in, and the related obligations assumed under, the non-proliferation treaty. The head of the Hungarian delegation emphasized that the Republic of Hungary had a vested interested in ensuring the full enforcement of the treaty, and its inherent monitoring system. He urged the countries which had not yet signed the treaty to change their minds.

The state secretary spoke emphatically on some issues which directly affected the security policy situation on the Republic of Hungary, such as the threat of joining the arms race, and attacks upon nuclear power plants, with their consequent ban. Somogyi pressed for finding reassuring solutions, in line with international agreements, to these burning questions.

Somogyi spoke approvingly of the monitoring activity of the International Atomic Energy Agency. Furthermore, he stated his admiration for the wide-scale international cooperation which had manifested itself over the issue of how to use nuclear energy in peaceful ways. A clear indication was given of Hungary's firm intention to play an active role in this process.

## State Official Outlines 3-Year Economic Program

*LD2308161190 Budapest MTI in English 1304 GMT 23 Aug 90*

[Text] Budapest, August 23, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—The draft of the Hungarian Government's three-year programme will be ready in September, and will be put before parliament in October.

Denying press reports about the programme, Ms. Katalin Botos, political state secretary at the Finance Ministry, said that the programme does not contain shock therapy: rather, it will introduce measures to ease the burdens of individuals.

While prices and imports will be totally liberalized, the government wants to carry on its restrictive monetary policy to avoid rampant inflation.

A further measure will be the long-awaited wage reform, which will probably entail wage rises.

Exact percentages for the wage rises have still not been calculated, but the government wants wages to contain almost eighty per cent of home building costs and the price of various other services which were so far financed by the budget but which will now be drastically phased out.

Ms. Boto said that all these reforms must go hand in hand with wholesale privatization, the government wants to decrease the 1,300 billion forints' (20 billion US dollars') worth of internal state debts. The tactics will be that when private entrepreneurs buy state assets, they will have to take over the relevant part of the state debt, too.

Ms. Boto added that the Hungarian Government is preparing its progamme on the assumption that the country will not be able to acquire additional foreign resources to accelerate the transition towards a market economy.

If, however, foreign help is available, this would significantly ease the burden on the population.

## Newspaper Distribution Monopoly To Be Revoked

*LD2308102990 Budapest MTI in English 0950 GMT 23 Aug 90*

[Text] Budapest, August 23 (MTI)—The Hungarian Post's monopoly on newpaper distribution will be revoked as of January 1, 1991, announced Bela Doros, deputy state secretary at the Ministry of Transport and Telecommunications, at a press briefing in Budapest on August 23.

Mr Doros is of the opinion that although the existing postal organization can adequately carry out the task of distributing subscription papers, the current system of newspaper selling is no longer capable of distributing the enormous number of new papers.

Comprehensive reform is required in this area, combined with the introduction of market forces as soon as possible.

### Iraqi Democratic Organizations Call for Support

*LD2308161790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1200 GMT 23 Aug 90*

[Text] A statement sent to Hungarian radio by the Iraqi democratic organizations operating in Hungary urges the withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwait and the recall of the international military forces stationed in the region.

In their statement in Budapest, the Iraqi opposition members say that international public opinion should give more effective support to overthrowing the Iraqi dictatorship, to avoid the possibility of a catastrophic war

### Ukrainian Foreign Minister Arrives for Talks

*LD2308153690 Budapest MTI in English 1328 GMT 23 Aug 90*

[Text] Budapest, August 23 (MTI)—Anatoliy Zlenko, foreign minister of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, arrived in Budapest on Thursday at the invitation of Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky.

The Ukrainian politician is to hold talks with senior Foreign Ministry officials.

### Compensation for Sanction Losses Sought

*LD2308184990 Warsaw PAP in English 1703 GMT 23 Aug 90*

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 23—The Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs has announced that Poland is requesting refunds for losses sustained as a result of adhering to the embargo introduced against Iraq under U.N. Security Council Resolution number 661.

As a result of the sanctions, Poland will not be able to get 750 thousand tons of crude oil of the million that it ordered this year as repayment of Iraq's debt to Poland. This crude oil will have to be brought on the free market for cash, at a cost of about 130 million dollars.

Poland also cannot count on deliveries of another 1-2 million tons of oil which it was supposed to have received as repayment of Iraq's debt next year. This will entail a need to reach for hard currency reserves, decreasing them by 170-340 million dollars (in current prices).

Considering that fuels will have to be imported for hard currency and that as of next year Poland will pay in hard currency for Soviet oil, it is estimated that in 1991 Poland will have to spend another 800 million to a billion dollars, not taken into account in expenditure plans, owing to the Iraqi crisis. This will place more strain on the balance of payments.

PAP was told that Poland requested compensation for these losses both in bilateral talks and on the multilateral plane, particularly with regard to the European Community Commission which coordinates Western economic aid for Poland.

The Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs has also addressed the OECD with a postulate to review possible assistance from the International Energy Agency.

### Iraqi Ambassador Says 'No Invasion' of Kuwait

*AU2408092290 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 22 Aug 90 pp 1,3*

[Interview with Iraqi Ambassador to Poland Muhammad F. H. al-Haboubi by Barbara Biegajska; place and date not given: "There Was No Invasion...."]

[Text] [Biegajska] Who is President Saddam Husayn, this man who has pointed a gun at the world's head?

[Al-Haboubi] President Saddam Husayn is 53 years old. He has two sons; the elder son is an engineer and is also the chairman of the Iraqi Olympic Committee. The younger is a lawyer and works in state administration. President Saddam Husayn also has three daughters. Two of them are already married, the third one is still studying. The president loves sports, but, regrettably, he does not have much time for it as the affairs of his people take up most of his time. His visits to Iraqi families have gained him wide public support.

[Biegajska] And this person ordered the invasion of Kuwait?

[Al-Haboubi] There was no invasion! Until 1913, Kuwait was a part of Iraq. It was the English colonialists who, mindful of their own interests, separated it from our territory and set up a separate state, which the world only officially recognized in 1961. Iraq has never recognized Kuwait as a separate state. What happened on 2 August was distorted by Western media.

[Biegajska] What did happen?

[Al-Haboubi] There was an uprising in Kuwait against the Kuwaiti regime. Fearing intervention, the insurgents asked us for help and we provided it. That is why we categorically reject the interpretation that it was Iraq that declared war on Kuwait.

[Biegajska] Mr. Ambassador, you are claiming that there was no invasion, that there is no war, but what about the hostages, the "human shields?"

[Al-Haboubi] We were forced to take such steps. The governments of the countries of these citizens have applied an embargo against Iraq and intend to starve our children. They have assembled powerful military forces in this region in preparation for an attack on our country.

[Biegajska] The UN Security Council has also supported these measures.

[Al-Haboubi] No. The UN Security Council only passed a resolution on economic sanctions, not a total blockade. The United States, however, has applied a total blockade with the use of force. From this stems the decision of our authorities to extend our "hospitality" [to the foreigners]. We regret the fact that for the moment some foreigners cannot leave Iraq. We want dialogue and a peaceful solution of this conflict. We consider that their [foreigners] presence among Iraqi families may stop aggression against Iraq.

[Biegajska] Why have you taken these sanctions solely against the citizens of Western states?

[Al-Haboubi] Not all these states, only against those that have participated in the planning of the military aggression. I wish to confirm that no harm will come to those who remain in Iraq. They will be able to return to their homes when the threat of military aggression against Iraq and the blockade are lifted. President Saddam Husayn's latest initiative contains six alternatives for a speedy resolution of this conflict. The United States and Great Britain are currently rejecting all propositions, but yesterday the Soviet Union stated that the initiative contains several matters which deserve further attention. If we are forced to fight a war, we shall fight to the end. All the Islamic Arab nations will be on our side.

[Biegajska] What can you say about the situation of Poles in Iraq and Kuwait?

[Al-Haboubi] According to information from Polish sources, when the conflict broke out there were some 3,000 Polish citizens in Iraq and some 1,000 in Kuwait. We have done everything to help their evacuation from Kuwait. The first group has already arrived in Poland, and further groups are expected to follow very shortly. From the information we have, only 300 people have contacted the appropriate Polish authorities and expressed a desire to leave Iraq. These are mainly women and children. This shows that life in Iraq is continuing normally.

### Protest to GDR Over Neo-Nazi Incident

*LD2308184890 Warsaw PAP in English 1745 GMT 23 Aug 90*

[Text] Wroclaw, Aug. 23—An East German border official has expressed regret to the Polish side over Saturday's incident in which a group of West German neo-Nazis of the NPD National Democratic Party forced their way into the Polish city of Zgorzelec.

The East German official assured the Polish side that border guards would not permit such incidents to occur in the future. Poland earlier on issued a strong protest to the East German border authorities regarding this matter.

The neo-Nazis stormed the border crossing after holding a rally in the city's East German adjacent city of Goerlitz during which they demanded a revision of the border on the Nysa and Odra [Oder-Neisse] Rivers and the establishment of a Silesian Land.

### Soviet Officers Visit Szczecin Voivodship

*LD2308190190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 23 Aug 90*

[Text] A large group of Soviet officers, representatives of the Northern Group of Forces of the Soviet Army responsible for matters of logistics and environmental protection in the Soviet Army units, is visiting the Szczecin Voivodship today. At a voivodship administration office meeting, the process of granting access to Polish inspectors for the inspection of Soviet units was discussed. The first group of Polish inspectors commenced the inspection of the Soviet Army base in Swinoujscie today. Successive army units stationed in Szczecin Voivodship will be visited next week.

### Emigre President Ready To Lead Poland

*LD2308162790 Warsaw PAP in English 1353 GMT 23 Aug 90*

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 23—According to sources close to the Polish government-in-exile, President Ryszard Kaczorowski expressed interest in the programmatic proposal of the PW (Freedom Party) [Partia Wolnosci] [party formed out of Fighting Solidarity] and is ready to take over as the head of the Polish state till free, general parliamentary and presidential elections are held.

The Freedom Party operates in Poland and the news was broken to PAP by Zbigniew Jagiello, secretary of the main office of the Freedom Party.

### Walesa Assesses Kaczorowski

*LD2408123690 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 24 Aug 90*

[Telephone interview with Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa by unidentified "Baltic Studio" and Third Program radio listeners on 24 Aug; place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Listener] When do you predict that things in Poland will, quite simply, be better, so that everyone, the majority, will be satisfied with all of these economic matters?

[Walesa] I reply immediately: things will be better in Poland some day. If we get down to doing things together, then it would be better. At the moment, the elites are doing good things. They say that this is the best course, that Poland is already on the right course. Much of society stands on the sidelines and complains. They are right! But all of this is a loss for us. Let me put it this way. If the elites do not figure out a way to include most Poles in shared work, in a shared bearing of burdens, then we will be playing about with this for a long time.

[Second listener] Whom are you calling the elite?

[Walesa] This is what they taught me, a worker, in school. The elites are all of those—even the supervisor who directs—who impose things, on civilizational development, on our life, and so forth. This is the elite. A bigger elite, a smaller elite, it depends on how you look at it, but everyone who makes decisions and imposes them on us, and directs us, they are the elite.

[Third listener] What is your opinion of the statement by President Kaczorowski on the possibility of him becoming president?

[Walesa] Of course, history must judge if this is the continuity of Polish democracy, pure Polish democracy. On the other hand, what took place over 45 years was, well you know very well what that was. Regarding this, we must somehow resolve this problem, remembering that this is a continuity. Of course, a continuity, but from outside. That means from outside, not through their own fault. On the other hand, I do not know if in this situation—these people have not been in Poland for 45 years—they would be in a good position to come back and function well. In Poland one must work. The president cannot sit and cannot be a spectator. Poland needs an active and quick president. In connection with that, for the short term it is satisfactory and necessary to resolve the problem, then maybe he would be sufficiently humane and honest and good. On the other hand, for the longer term, where government is involved, one must have been brought up here. One needs to be here to resolve the problems.

I feel that the opportunities were not exploited when the party was dissolved. People were not granted access. For the time being we have just defeated the system. We have by no means, however, constructed another. This is not the Poland that we struggled for together. It is necessary to go further. Some say: No; go home. That is enough. We will finish things. I do not believe in such a finishing, I do not believe in such possibilities, and the proof of this is the fact that 60 percent of the people did not take part in the self-government elections. That means that they did not identify and are not with us. This is not their fault—it is our fault, the elites fault—that we are not able to encourage them, that we do not grat them access, that we do not offer any opportunities to them.

## POLITYKA Surveys Party Programs

*PM2308144290 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 28 Jul 90 p 3*

[Responses to questionnaire issued by POLITYKA; place and date not given: "Polish Political Panorama: The Left, the Right, and the Center—13 Questions About Programs," conducted by Mariusz Janicki; first five paragraphs are POLITYKA introduction]

[Text] Political parties or movements should have clearly formulated programs. Here in Poland this is not so easy. New actors keep arriving on the public scene, and program declarations are generalized and unclear. It is hard, consequently, to place individual groups according to the traditional division into left, center, and right-wing orientation, particularly as the very principles of such a division could be called into question, too.

We approached representatives of the various political forces with a list of questions concerning their attitude to our major political, economic, and social problems of the present time. We also asked them to define their position in relation to the other groups. We trust that the answers we received will together offer us an outline of a "political map of Poland" and enable us to establish the principal differences and similarities in their programs.

The map in question is neither perfect nor complete, which is why we intend to keep coming back to the project. We appeal to the groups which received our questionnaire to send us their replies to the questions formulated in it.

We begin printing the first lot today (in alphabetical order, according to party name) of the replies we have received to date. We will continue it in next week's issue of POLITYKA.

Here is the list of our questions. Replies to individual questions, printed under the name of each political group, are numbered correspondingly.

1. Do you believe that the division into left-wing, center, and right-wing orientation is valid in Poland today? If so, where would you place your own party/group/milieu?
2. What social group do you represent and act for?
3. Do you believe that the direction of the political changes now taking place in Poland is correct?
4. Do you prefer the option calling for an "acceleration" of changes (if so, which changes: political? economic?) or the option of a consistent implementation of the government's "evolutionary" program?
5. Do you think that there is too much or too little state intervention in Poland's economy?
6. Do you share the view that the government policy lacks a clearly and precisely laid out economic program for the agrarian sector, as well as one concerning "social welfare provisions?"
7. Are you in favor of bringing forward the date of the next parliamentary election? If so, when should it take place?
8. Should the election to the post of president of the Polish Republic be conducted by the present parliament; by a new parliament; or in the form of popular referendum?
9. Should the future political system of the Polish Republic be based on a dominant role of parliament, or president?
10. Which of the following concepts do you favor: that of "Citizens Poland," or "National Poland?"
11. Do you believe that the status of the Catholic world view should be underwritten in Poland by certain official ratifications?
12. In the future, will there be a greater danger to Poland from the West or from the East?
13. Should Poland enjoy membership in international military and economic structures? If so, which ones?

### DEMOCRATIC RIGHT FORUM [FPD] [Tomasz Wolek—member, Consultative Group]

1. It is valid, on the understanding that the dividing line will shift toward economic matters. We place ourselves on the democratic right. Our preference is for a formal democracy modeled on Anglo-Saxon lines, rather than a substantive model expressed through slogans on "people's rule."
2. We have no particular preference as to our point of departure. We tend toward a sound, bourgeois, conservative-liberal party, however, based on universal Christian values. The middle class is one of the groups that we address. We want to promote it as a stabilizing element.
3. In general, we do. It is obvious that difficulties must occur, considering all the negative habits that we acquired in the past in the course of our "socialization."
4. The style promoted by the Center Accord does not always suit us; however, we recognize the many virtues in the call for "acceleration." This has stimulated many transformations. The call does not, however, mean a great deal in itself: We must specify more clearly the areas where the acceleration should and can take place. It should not constitute a threat undermining the stability of the transformations.
5. The fairly widespread expectation that Minister Syryjczyk (an FPD signatory) should step up the practice of economic intervention is a gross misunderstanding. Minister Syryjczyk is being true to his past (liberal) convictions and attempts to reduce the extent of state

intervention. This is a correct trend, though some elements of state intervention should be present until the economic system becomes more stable.
6. We probably do, but if peasant parties do not begin by setting out their own agrarian policy program, this illustrates the difficulties with the drafting of such a program—particularly since the "bridgeheads" of the new system are only barely secured. At the moment it is difficult to talk about a coherent social welfare system. For the time being we must settle for improvised "patching up" operations.
7; 8; 9. We favor the idea of a general presidential election (after the French Fifth Republic model). Premature parliamentary and presidential elections would be dangerous, because the political situation is still unstable; a spring date for the election would be best, but we should remember that the campaign has already started. Should it develop into a "war of attrition," it would probably be best if the elections were brought forward, perhaps to some date this fall. We find it regrettable that the personal aspect of the presidential campaign has overshadowed its substantive significance.
10. The concept of "the nation" is being hugely overemphasized. We, Poles, are far too sensitive about it. We appreciate the importance of its traditional significance and give it fair consideration, though we are essentially opposed to reaching back to 19th century concepts. We place the idea of "the nation" among the fundamental values recognized by the conservative orientation.
11. We are not dogmatic about it. Our members are mostly Catholics, but our forum is not based on religious orientation. Our attitude to Christianity is based on an appreciation of its ethical values—that is, certain universal values. We believe that this area should be handled with great sensitivity.
12; 13. We should free ourselves from feelings of resentment and hurt and begin to perceive an ally in Russia. The united Germany represents a challenge, but this should not be viewed in terms of a threat. We must not fall into the trap of harboring a defensive attitude. Polish-Russian relations should be rationalized. We must join the European Council and increase the extent of our participation in the work of the CSCE. There is a great variety of institutions which operate at supranational levels, and these types of connections are extremely valuable. Regarding military blocs, there is a chance that they will cease to represent antagonistic interests.

### CONFEDERATION FOR AN INDEPENDENT POLAND [KPN] [Krzysztof Krol—member, KPN Political Council]

1. The division is valid, though today it runs more between people's political careers than their authentic political attitudes. We define ourselves as a center-right party.
2. We do not represent any particular social group. Predominant groups among the KPN supporters are young intelligentsia, private entrepreneurs, and the "belligerent" intelligentsia.
3. Definitely yes. The main direction is certainly correct, because it leads toward an ever fuller sovereignty for Poland.
4. There is no dichotomy here, though the changes could take place a bit faster. We rule out, however, all revolutionary processes.
5. Certainly, too much.
6. We do not know whether the government has drawn up any program concerning the areas in question.
7. Emphatically yes.
8. After the change of constitution, we should have universal elections. Prior to the change, we should have parliamentary elections.
9. At the moment we should observe the principle of tripartite power above all else. After the elections, we should have a strong president, while parliament must be given guarantees of real monitoring powers over the president.
10. National identity is a category that belongs to the realm of consciousness. Poland should belong to Polish society.
11. Catholicism is the dominant religious orientation in Poland. It should consequently enjoy extensive privileges in both the legislative and official spheres, but these must be rooted in the principle of full freedom of application.
12. A danger threatens from both sides. As long as President Jaruzelski remains in power, there is a political threat from the East. This is reinforced by the unrest in the USSR. On the other hand, we face the threat of an economic domination by the West.
13. It certainly should. We should cooperate with such Central and Eastern European countries as Belorussia, Ukraine, Hungary, and others (according to the concept of a "sea-to-sea bloc"). Our relations should embrace all aspects of cooperation. The bloc's working principles should be based on those of the present EEC model.

### POLISH SOCIALIST PARTY [PPS] [Andrzej Malanowski—Secretary, Supreme Council Presidium]

1. Of course it is valid. We place ourselves on the center-left (reformist left).
2. We represent the interests of the broadly interpreted group of working people who are hired employees and those who depend on their work for their livelihood—that is, the professions and small businessmen.
3. The general direction is correct, but the same goals can be reached in other ways. We are not in favor of certain simplifications contained in these goals—for instance, we do not approve of the avowed political and social objective of establishing the capitalist system in Poland.
4. In general, we are in favor of the evolutionary process, which constitutes a guarantee of keeping the planned changes firmly "on course." We are in favor of privatization, but believe that it should be an extremely cautious process, lest public assets be indiscriminately shared out at rock bottom prices.
5. There is not enough state intervention. We define interventionism as the creation of institutional conditions for development.

6. Of course it does. These programs are so incredibly vague as to be virtually nonexistent. Jacek Kuron's ministerial brief seems to be charitable activities rather than the running of the labor sector. Regarding the agrarian policy, the government's intervention action consists largely of introducing delaying tactics—as exemplified in the attitude to the dairy industry's problems. It is paradoxical in our economic situation that it is not the economically weakest entities that collapse, as they should, but those which prosper quite adequately.
7. We are in favor of bringing it forward. The present parliament should not last to see the end of its term of office. On the other hand, we are not in favor of excessive acceleration of the election process, because of our organizationally and financially weak condition. The political groups which are currently stronger try to force earlier elections, hoping in this way to dominate the parliamentary scene. We believe that a spring date would be the optimum choice here. We intend to take an active and independent part in the elections.
8. We call into question the present parliament's right to elect a new president or indeed to draft and pass a new constitution. The president should be chosen in the course of a general election.
9. We have closer cultural affinities with the French model than with the U.S. one. Furthermore, we should strengthen and observe the tripartite power system.
10. Poland should be a citizens state run on the principles of pluralism and openness.
11. Absolutely not. Democracy requires that any minority enjoy the same rights and privileges as the majority.
12. The dangers that could threaten us will be essentially traceable in their deepest roots to our domestic situation.
13. We cherish the idea of Poland as a neutral state not involved in any military blocs. Economic cooperation is essential. Membership in the EEC is a question for the future. The intermediate stage should involve cooperation with countries of Central and Eastern Europe.

### POLISH PEASANT PARTY [PSL] [Waclaw N. Kornasiewicz—spokesman]

1. It is valid. It exists everywhere: in Western Europe and the United States. It must also exist here if we are to strive for a normal political situation. It is our party's belief that only a parliamentary system can guarantee a situation whereby society can enjoy a nonsubordinate status. Only society organized into political parties has the opportunity to express effectively its acceptance or rejection of the given state system. We occupy a position slightly to the right of center.
2. We represent the interests of all social groups. Our basic point of reference is the peasant class.
3. The direction is different from before and therefore noteworthy. We are only at the starting point, and the implementation of the ideals can go along different routes (vide communists). There are many doubts as to the value of individual trends. In general, our impression is positive.
4. Certain targets require an acceleration of changes; others need to be reached by way of evolution.
5. Definitely too much manual control (in state-controlled industry).
6. We believe that the government has no agrarian policy program at all. The changes being implemented are only forced under pressure from the PSL and Rural Solidarity. Were it not for this pressure, the government would continue to treat agriculture as an academic question. The government suffers from a lack of people to put ideas into practice. It has only university-bred theoreticians.
7. The most appropriate date would be next spring.
8. It should take the form of general elections. The constitution should be drafted and passed by the new parliament.
9. Considering our traditional Polish mentality, the model closest to our needs would be the French system, with a strong president.
10. A "Parliamentary Poland," where everyone would enjoy the right to participate in the creation of statehood. Both the "Citizens' Poland" and "National Poland" concepts contain an assumption that certain elements of society are kept in peripheral positions.
11. The church as a structure is so strong that it does not need any particular official guarantees—which is not to say that the whole state system should not be based on the church's social teaching.
12; 13. When all is said and done, Poland should still lean definitely toward the East—just as Primate Wyszynski believed—but at the same time be partly open to the West. Poland cannot afford not to belong to some military bloc. Poland's military power should always be slightly greater than its economic potential.

### CENTER ACCORD [Jaroslaw Kaczynski—member]

1. The division is a fact. It involves such fundamental questions as the national issue; attitude to religion; attitude to property; or, as in our own case, attitude to the past period. We are situated in the political center, with a slight leaning to the right.
2. We represent a Poland which wants to work and profit by work—that is, the working people who are hired employees and those who "work their own patch." We oppose all claim-making policies.
3. We perceive a general direction toward democracy in the changes now taking place.
4. We are firmly in favor of acceleration. If we apply the "step by step" method, we will soon see the explosion of a populist revolution.
5. We are still dealing with residual etatism, which must be eradicated. On the other hand, a certain level of state intervention is necessary for the activization of the economy. We could probably loosen up the pay policy even now, though we have not yet calculated precisely all the possible results of such a move.
6. Yes. We lack an agricultural policy program. Current actions by farmers are incorrect, but the arguments put forward by the farmers side are correct if you consider the substantive merits of the present conflict.

7. We are in favor of the following process: first, the election of a new president by the present parliament; then, after a few months, elections to a new parliament.
8. In the short term—and I wish to emphasize this—the presidential election should be conducted by the the present parliament, but our eventual objective should be a general presidential election.
9. We reject the suggested division. We are in favor of a model similar to the French and Finnish examples. The U.S. model does not suit us. I wish to stress this particularly clearly, because we are often criticized for promoting a model of very strong presidential powers.
10. We see no conflict here. We are firmly against the national democracy model. We support the tolerant tendency in our national tradition.
11. It should not.
12. We should act with the caution and prudence of the "mature statesman." We oppose the "politics of apprehension." We perceive Poland's future with the West, in Western economic as well as political and military structures.
13. We are in favor of joining the EEC, but on terms analogous to those proposed by Mrs. Thatcher.

**WORKING PEOPLE'S ALLIANCE [Ewa Spychalska—chairperson, Working People's Movement Coordinating Council]**

1. We do. The division exists because of differences of political orientations within society. Different interests place people on particular "sides." The two major interests are those of capital and labor. Our interests are the same as those of the working people.
2. We represent and act in the interests of the working people who are hired employees: peasants, workers, creative and technical intelligentsia. We "walk with the electrician and the professor...."
3. Today we note the multiplicity of changes taking place even at the level of the power elite. We are in favor of progress of democratic parliamentarism; economic development; evolution of social policy and self-government systems; and humanization of politics. We oppose all directions which disregard the individual and which treat political mechanisms as an object rather than subject of all action.
4. From our viewpoint, the question is wrongly formulated. We prefer the options formulated in our answer to question no. 3.
5. The problem is not whether there is too much or too little state intervention, but whether it is applied where it is needed. For instance, restrictive intervention concerning the taxation system destroys initiative. Its absence in, say, agriculture, or cultural policy, places their very existence in question.
6. Yes.
7. Having due regard for the law, we would leave the decision to parliament. We believe that realistic dates for the major questions to be debated by parliament will not be feasible until 1991, and then in the following order: 1. parliament; 2. constitution; 3. president.
8. In a general election.
9. We are in favor of parliamentary democracy.
10. We see Poland first and foremost as our homeland. Your choice of options, albeit fashionable, is restricted. There is no need to force such a choice.
11. The constitution should guarantee freedom of creed. There are good and time-tested models in, say, the United States or France.
12. The greatest danger lies in our native folly.
13. Yes; those which serve to strengthen our country's position. The changes taking place in the world are dynamic. We need flexibility instead of adherence to permanent solutions. Stereotypes have no substance.

**PSL SOLIDARITY [A. Kostarczyk—secretary for international contacts]**

1. It is valid. According to the popular movement tradition we place ourselves in the center. Poland's political structure is not clear enough yet for the division to occur in a natural process. Elites must provide advantageous conditions to facilitate the stratification. This is an essential stage in our progress toward Europe.
2. We act in the interests of the peasants. We do not believe, however, that a party which expresses the peasants interests must be an exclusively peasant party. It should be a national party, with a particular interest in the question of the Polish rural community.
3; 4. The general direction is correct, but there is a definite need to create fully democratic state structures and move away from the philosophy of the Roundtable Contract, whose formula has by now become exhausted and outdated.
5. There is too little intervention on the state's part directed toward ensuring the correct functioning of market mechanisms. It is an illusion to accept the thesis that an "invisible market mechanism" will take care of all problems. It will not be so, and the evidence for this is the condition of the economy after the six-month application of the Balcerowicz program.
6. Particular shortcomings are evident in agricultural policy. Considering its specification and conditions, the agricultural sector worldwide is supported by government agricultural policies.
7. Yes. The early spring date is the optimum choice. The main concern, however, is that the public should have the opportunity to choose among realistic options, programs, and people.
8. The choice of president is necessary as the first step toward a change of the provisional political system devised during the roundtable debate. Provided that the present parliament can carry out a change of the electoral law so that the president is chosen in a general election, we would give our support to such an option. It appears, however, that it is at present easier to attain the desired majority in the National Assembly, since in the case of presidential elections this would have to involve the Senate, whereas a change of the electoral law would be carried out by a qualified majority in the Sejm, where a contractual 65 percent does not have to be interested in such a change.
9. We should aim at attaining a balanced constitutional system. Considering the immaturity of the Polish political system, however, and the possible threat to its

stability, the president should have at his disposal the kinds of powers that would give him the opportunity to intervene in crisis situations. We see the French model as the optimum solution.
10. A "Citizens Poland," which would respect the traditional national values in all manifestations of public life.
11. No.
12. As I see it, the greatest danger to Poland would be posed by its isolation from the process of European integration.
13. Poland should strive for integration with the EEC. In military terms, it should seek a guarantee of its security in all-European collective security structures.

### SOCIAL DEMOCRACY OF THE POLISH REPUBLIC [SdRP] [Leszek Miller—secretary general]

1. The division is valid. We constitute the democratic left.
2. We represent people who live by their manual or intellectual labors. In the future we see ourselves as representatives of the "middle class." This will [provide] a much wider platform than that commanded by the former Polish United Workers Party [PZPR].
3. The political direction is generally correct, geared to the future. We have reservations as to certain individual solutions—such as, for example, privatization, because it is centrally directed, because it applies to the best-run enterprises, and because state officials have unrestricted opportunities for joining the boards of the newly privatized companies.
4. We tend to prefer evolutionary changes, especially as the term "acceleration" is very vague and for the time being is associated primarily with reshuffles of personnel.
5. Too little state intervention. The Balcerowicz project, which stipulates that the government should not interfere with the economy, is thoroughly erroneous, as we will surely find out before long.
6. We do share this view. There is no social policy as such, and Minister Kuron admitted this at the Second Solidarity Congress. Such an admission sounds ridiculous coming from a government minister. Furthermore, we lack an intervention system in the agricultural sector.
7. Yes. Spring of next year is the optimum date.
8. The election should be general and it should mark the end of a certain process—that is, the election of a new Sejm, the drafting and passing of a new constitution, and a precise definition of the prerogatives of the new president.
9. We are in favor of parliament's dominant role.
10. We support the "Citizens Poland" option.
11. Of course it should not.
12. An economic threat will loom from the West: Poland will become a reservoir of cheap labor, and we will be forced by economic pressures to engage in harmful production processes. On the other side, the disintegration of the Soviet Union could result in a violent conflict which would spill over into the neighboring areas.
13. We should remain in the Warsaw Pact for as long as NATO continues to exist. Economically, we should strive for integration with the EEC.

### ALLIANCE FOR DEMOCRACY [Jerzy Turowicz]

1. This division makes no particular sense today. The terms "left" or "right" can be applied only to extreme fractions. Our group is placed at the political center. We bring together people with different "leanings," but the dominant note is our centrist thinking.
2. We have a capacious formula, which embraces equally the intelligentsia and the workers.
3. The general direction of political changes is correct. Details could come in for criticism.
4. Preferably an evolutionary government program. Certain moves could be accelerated, but only within the confines of the law.
5. In certain areas there is too little state intervention.
6. The government information policy is very feeble, which is why these programs are not well advertised.
7. We agree with Prime Minister Mazowiecki that the election should take place in the spring at the latest.
8. We are in favor of a general election.
9. Personally, I am in favor of a strong parliament and a strong government.
10. Poland belongs to all its citizens.
11. Considering the fact that 90 percent of all Polish citizens are Catholics, it is obvious that the church should have freedom of action, but this does not necessarily entail official ratifications.
12. I see no military threat. On the other hand, in economic terms things could be tricky. We know that our relations with the USSR are irregular; regarding the West, Poland very badly needs financial help and investment, and this is where Germany's economic might could generate certain dangers.
13. Military structures? I do not know, but I hope we are moving toward peaceful coexistence. Poland needs good relations and ties with both the East and the West.

### DEMOCRATIC PARTY [SD] [Jerzy Simon—party spokesman]

1. It is valid again today. In the abnormal circumstances of the past period it was senseless, because a single, hegemonic party—which was at the same time a scrap heap of different views—dominated the political scene. Our party has always been pragmatic. Today we place ourselves at the political center, though our roots are in the left-wing orientation. We can lend the right-wing side our conditional and temporary support because today only they hold the blueprint for stemming the current recession.
2. We are a party open to the whole of society, to all citizens. In the past our sphere of activity was forcibly restricted. Nevertheless, we still continue our tradition of promoting individual enterprise, including professional milieus.
3. Naturally, we do. At the same time, however, we believe that there is an urgent need to create a proper political system (through an act on political parties) promoting genuine political life which would provide a basis for parliamentary activity—a basis which is much needed, because today our parliament is largely alienated

from society. Civic movements should strive for greater differentiation and individual identity.

4. "Acceleration" is a slogan which can be interpreted with a variety of meanings. Everybody is in favor of some form of acceleration. We also believe that economic transformations should be accelerated, but not by the means of revolutionary processes.

5. Too little. For example, in the housing construction sector. Here state intervention must be applied through government guarantees for banking institutions. Several sectors should be involved in this operation. Regarding wages, provisional state intervention which would slow down wage increases is both vitally necessary and proper. On the other hand, we note that the government program is not addressed to a clearly defined group. This should comprise private entrepreneurs and peasants. Recently we have noted some change for the better.

6. An agricultural policy program is being drawn up only at the present moment. Until now there was no such program at all. The government program proposed a certain general system, but there was a lack of precisely defined, detailed subsystems. It took the direction from generalization to detailed instructions. We perceive a need to create a dynamic social welfare program, since provision of social protection for the unemployed constitutes only one element of the Balcerowicz plan—an element which implies defensive rather than offensive action. More than any other program, the social policy program should be dominated by the egalitarian principle.

7. Yes. Next spring at the latest. Until then, the political entities involved should clearly define and confirm their positions.

8. The president should be chosen by the whole society in general elections. Every citizen should have the opportunity to put his civic obligations into practice.

9. The SD has long campaigned for the introduction of a parliamentary system. The elected president can be a partner for parliament, but never a hegemon.

10. A "Citizens Poland." We cannot afford to sustain hostile enclaves that would inevitably and automatically arise with the introduction of the "national" option.

11. We see no such need, though it is possible that the public will decide differently in a national referendum.

12. The gravest danger is posed by ourselves to ourselves. Unless we quickly develop enough maturity to handle a democratic system, we could come under political and economic domination from our neighbors.

13. It should definitely join economic structures, though certainly not on the same principles as those involved in our membership of CEMA. We would prefer Poland to remain outside all military pacts. As a long-term goal, we would certainly favor an eventual neutral status. We place our full trust in the government's current foreign policy.

## Social Democracy Party Registered in Warsaw

*LD2308192490 Warsaw PAP in English 1753 GMT 23 Aug 90*

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 23—The voivodship court in Warsaw registered the SdRP, Social-Democracy of the Republic of Poland, under the law on political parties today.

This is the fifth registration application but the first one from a left-wing party.

The newly registered party was set up last January. It wants to fight for the interests of working people, the supreme reasons of the Polish state and society. It numbers over 60 thousand members operating in 2,100 circles in all voivodships.

## Defense Ministry Establishes Military Police

*LD2308172490 Warsaw PAP in English 1538 GMT 23 Aug 90*

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 23—The minister of national defence ordered to establish the military gendarmerie in the Polish Army.

The tasks of the military gendarmerie, to start operating on September 1, will cover three basic fields. The first: detecting and fighting crime in the armed forces. The second field is associated with countering all breaches of military discipline and order by soldiers outside their bases. The third deals with various preventive operations to be conducted by the gendarmerie in military units.

The gendarmerie's key body will be the main headquarters to be be subordinated to the commander-in-chief of the Polish Army's combat training.

Gen. Jerzy Jarosz was appointed the commander-in-chief of the military gendarmerie.

## Call for Action on Dec 1970 Perpetrators

*LD2308163490 Warsaw PAP in English 1463 GMT 23 Aug 90*

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 23—The independent national trade union "Solidarity of Labour Veterans" has issued a motion to the prosecutor general calling for penal proceedings to be opened against the perpetrators of the bloody events of December 1970 in Gdansk, Gdynia and Szczecin where armed troops, tanks and live ammunition were used against workers.

The massacre of 1970 has not been either fully explained or condemned.

### Warsaw TV Services Seen in Jeopardy

*LD2308121390 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0430 GMT 23 Aug 90*

[Text] GAZETA STOLECZNA writes: It cannot be ruled out that before long Warsaw will be without television. John Kowalczyk, a U.S. businessman of Polish descent, is to become the owner of the Palace of Culture. The U.S. and the municipal authorities have already signed a letter of intent in this regard. At present, lessees pay 100,000 zloties per square metre of palace floorspace, but the new owner is bound to demand a lot more. This means that some of those who have been using the palace up to now will have to find new premises. The Television Transmissions Center finds itself in the worst predicament. Contrary to the majority of European capitals, Warsaw has no radio and television tower. Thus, the center will either have to pay what Mr. Kowalczyk demands, or we will be without television. The construction of a television tower requires permission from as many as 15 institutions—Sanepid, the self-government and so forth—in spite of the fact that a site has already been secured. For the moment, none of them have approved this project.

### New Boeing 767 Joins Polish Airlines

*LD2308163690 Warsaw PAP in English 1440 GMT 23 Aug 90*

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 23—A new LOT Polish Airlines Boeing 767-300ER airplane landed at Warsaw's Okecie Airport today.

This is the biggest plane out of LOT's three Boeings made in Seattle, the U.S.

The aircraft, which can carry 249 passengers, 24 of them in the business class, will soon start servicing routes to North America and the Far East.

LOT Polish Airlines has submitted an option to buy another 5 machines of this type from Boeing.

### Security Forces Clash With Demonstrators

*AU2308200090 Paris AFP in English 1907 GMT 23 Aug 90*

[Text] Bucharest, Aug 23 (AFP)—Some 300 members of the security forces wielding batons clashed briefly with around 100 anti-government protestors in University Square here late Thursday [23 August], eye-witnesses said. The protestors had assembled on the symbolic square some two hours earlier, blocking traffic for about an hour.

At one point security personnel carrying shields and batons charged the demonstrators, who responded with a barrage of stones and other objects. The security forces then moved back as the demonstrators chanted "Down with Communism" and "Down with Iliescu," a reference to President Ion Iliescu.

Hundreds of anti-government protestors had gathered in the downtown square Wednesday erecting barricades before peacefully dispersing.

### Official Communique on 23 Aug Demonstration

*AU2308194990 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1900 GMT 23 Aug 90*

["Communique" issued by the Press Bureau of the Interior Ministry on 23 August]

[Text] On the evening of 23 August 1990, at approximately 1930 [1630 GMT], several groups of people totaling some 150-200 citizens, who do not represent political or nonpolitical formations and associations, blocked—by sitting in the road—traffic on Magheru Boulevard in front of University Square. Several riotous elements within those groups resorted to acts of violence by using aggression against passersby and by hitting automobiles driving through that area.

Given this situation, troops of Bucharest police and of the gendarmarie intervened—without using force—to reestablish order. At approximately 2000 [1700 GMT] they succeeded in freeing this blocked area for traffic to pass through. The Interior Ministry troops that intervened have remained in that area and are determined to act according to the spirit of the law against all people who, through their actions, harm public order and peace.

### Socialist Democratic Party Condemns Event

*AU2308203090 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1700 GMT 23 Aug 90*

[Text] The Press Bureau of the Socialist Democratic Party has sent a communique to ROMPRES for publication. The communique voices disapproval of the demonstration organized yesterday in University Square by irresponsible groups, with the aim of blocking traffic and disturbing public order and peace. Satisfaction is expressed with the measures taken by the forces of order, which intervened to ensure the observance of the law. The communique is signed by Engineer Technician Cornel Nica, deputy, spokesman, and vice president of the Socialist Democratic Party.

### Significance of Demonstration Viewed

*AU2308210690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1815 GMT 23 Aug 90*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 23/8/1990—The significance of August 23, 1944 in Romania's history has been in the focus of Romanian newspapers of late, the more so today.

To begin with, the declaration of the managerial board of the Romanian Social Democratic Party, published by the independent daily "ROMANIA LIBERA" considers August 23 to be "a symbol," "an event Romanians had long waited for." "On the brim of the precipice, when the very fate of the people was in danger" the declaration shows, the politicians, the democratic forces of the time decided to shift the course of action on August 23, and "re-establish Romania's normal alliances." But the Romanians' yearning for "freedom and democracy" was far from being attained the declaration states, on the contrary, "an even fiercer dictatorship followed, the one imposed by Soviet tanks."

Another article in the same newspaper stresses that "August 23 1944 is the most outspoken evidence that Romania's contribution to contemporary history can be neither ignored nor belittled." Always in full dignity, we, Romanians have known, especially in adverse circumstances, how to impose our will, as we don't covet what is not ours, we only wish to protect our forefathers' land and keep it free and independent." At a close analysis "August 23's significance is definitely positive" says the newspaper.

In the daily "DREPTATEA," Corneliu Coposu, president of the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party, speaks of what he calls the August 23 "coup," that, in his opinion, saved Romania's very existence. To continue the war would have been catastrophic for the country, the Romanian forces being unable to prevent Germany's defeat." "Of course", C. Coposu says, "if Romania had resisted, with very many sacrifices (he refers to Ion Antonescu's planned resistance) the Soviet Army's march to Central Europe would have been delayed by 7-8 months, but, as for Romania, that would have meant all its means of production, communication lines, oil sources being destroyed. [no closing quotes as received] C. Coposu concludes that "August 23, 1944 was a necessary, positive historical event that saved the very being and the future of Romania."

### DREPTATEA Fears Securitate Comeback

*AU2408095790 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 16 Aug 90 p 3*

[Nicodim Dragota article: "The Former Security Service, the Current Gendarmerie?"]

[Text] Following a statement made by a member of the current government, there is increasing talk about the so-called gendarmerie, whose members will be recruited from among the former Securitate people.

In the beginning, I refused to believe this, considering it as mere rumor. As talk about this possibility did not die down, however, my concern (and not only mine) is growing.

I ask myself: How is it possible that Mr. Prime Minister Petre Roman—who, in his presentation of the new government's program, pointed out that the 13-15 June 1990 events were caused by former Securitate people, whose aim was to destabilize the government—should now approve of the former Securitate members making up the gendarmerie?

Those who were present in University Square and other public places on 13-15 June know that diversionist elements, former officers of the Ministry of Interior, were those who incited violence and that former Securitate people infiltrated the ranks of the miners and led the shock teams that devastated various houses and bureaus of the opposition and barbarically beat up innocent people.

How is it possible that the gendarmerie should be made up of these former oppressors—most hated by the people—who committed so many crimes?

Or maybe just because of that? Maybe they won the government's trust through their deeds? If this is so, then one should not leave out Colonel Pingulescu, Camarasescu, and others and, if not enough people can be found, then one should probably recruit the 13-15 June miners, too, who proved to be "up to the trust put into them."

There is talk about depoliticizing the Army. Has it been forgotten that the Securitate people were indoctrinated to the backbone with a certain ideology and that, once brought back into power, they will not rid themselves of their hateful habits? Has one forgotten that this social category was hanging, drawing, and quartering without the need to account for their deeds to anyone, that the Securitate people robbed, detained, and arrested people, and that they were all powerful in the country?

Of course, those who were retired (well, the few still left in that position, as many of them have been recalled to active duty) are not satisfied with their situation and dream of the day when they will regain their lost positions and will again receive their double salary, compared with the wages paid by the Ministry of National Defense.

Are we to understand that the government intends to put them back in their previous positions?

What did we fight for then? Why did so many people die from the bullets of the Securitate people during the revolution?

## Communique on Investigations Into Jun Events

*AU2308192790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1832 GMT 23 Aug 90*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 23/8/1990—A communique of Bucharest's Prosecutor's Office shows that inquiries concluded into the case of 28 people who were involved in the events of June 13-15, 1990.

The case will be submitted to the Bucharest City Tribunal and the defendants have been placed under arrest.

According to pieces of evidence, the communique shows, the defendants committed offences against good manners, disturbed public order, unlawfully entered the Romanian Television Headquarters and caused damage to public property.

Under the circumstances, the damage done to the Romanian Television amounted to 8,10,000 lei and more than one million dollars.

The Prosecutor's Office of Bucharest City and the police department—the Criminal Investigation Directorate—continue investigations on other defendants as to the events of June 13-15 1990 and the results will be made known.

## Further Revolution Disclosures Announced

*AU2408134890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0740 GMT 24 Aug 90*

[Excerpt] Bucharest, ROMPRES 24/8/1990—[Passage omitted] ...Since no breach was possible in the party's leadership, the people identified the party with Ceausescu, eliminating it from the political life.

Things were quite different in the Army: A military committee of resistance was set up, that in 1989 counted almost 20 generals and a big number of senior officers in all important centres of the country, in the Air Force and in the Navy. Whereas military units that were commanded by officers still loyal to Ceausescu fired at demonstrators in Timisoara, Bucharest and other cities, on December 22, from the moment General Militaru took over the leadership of the ministry the command of the big units was entrusted to the generals on the military committee of resistance. The idea that the 180 degree turn was spontaneous is quite wrong. He who believes it does not understand what a military structure consolidated in over two decades means. The dissident activities in the Army fully proved their political usefulness and decisive role in averting a bloodbath all over the country. So, unknowingly, the Romanians had been close to a civil war.

As for the third component of Ceausescu's power, the breach had a twofold effect: It entailed tremendous advantages but also fateful consequences.

The plotters pursued the winning over of the commanders of the Ministry of the Interior regular troops

counting some 25 thousand effectives. The success was perfect. Consequently, they all sided with the revolution on December 22.

Likewise, General Militaru had managed to establish connections with the commanders of the battalion that ensured the safety of the party and State Council Headquarters. That is why on December 22 the youth were able to get in unhindered.

But there were under the Ministry of the Interior also special units of snipers drilled in urban guerrilla war, equipped with the most up-to-date guns (infrared), which explains why they acted only at night. Their total number of almost 4,000 was a tremendous force, considering the level of their instruction and equipment. Hard to tell to what extent did they participate in terrorist activities. What is sure and was clear from the very beginning is that they acted according to a previously established plan to be applied in the event of a popular revolt. Some officers had two identities and keys to two apartments. They were called terrorists because in the evening of December 22 they assumed positions in the houses around the buildings of the party's Central Committee, the television and the radio, the Ministry of National Defence, wherefrom they fired at soldiers and civilians indiscriminately, and in certain cases they tried to get into the television, National Defence Ministry and other buildings.

Some were arrested by military or captured by revolutionaries, others withdrew after seeing on TV the film with the dictators' execution. But all of them were set free, especially by the Securitate officers. The terrorists and officers belonging to the machine of repression who had passports fled abroad, via Hungary and Turkey. The others fled nowhere and are still among us.

In the beginning, the Romanian terrorists were assisted by foreigners, some 30, according to certain information, mostly Palestinians who were trained at Baneasa and other Securitate centres. Some of them were killed or wounded. The bodies vanished from the mortuary and the survivors were taken out of hospitals by their fellows after surgery or bandaging and flown out of the country.

The two-faceted sum-up of the tragedy: A powerful instrument of repression, that would have caused a bloodbath was neutralized, on the one hand, [and] a radical solution of the repressive apparatus was virtually barred, on the other hand. The question is still open. Only a few officers were arrested and will be tried. In the chaos created by the revolution, some of them had managed to sneak into leading positions in the Army. But in the "War Council" improvised in the evening of December 24, they were exposed by Silviu Brucan and were soon after that put under arrest.

In order to apply the scheme of the military coup, special, silent pistols were needed with cartridges that should put the victim to sleep instantly for some 24 hours. General Militaru applied to a Soviet diplomatist at the Bucharest embassy in Bucharest [as received] and later on he called on the Soviet consul in Constanta for the same purpose. Although the Soviets evinced interest in the schemes, the answer from Moscow was a resolute no, forbidding the Soviet diplomatists to interfere in any way with Romanian internal affairs. The general then tried to get them through Romania's ambassador in Ankara, Vasile Patilinet, who agreed and found them. But it took dollars to buy them and they had none.

The Soviets knew everything and they also knew the frame of mind in the big Romanian enterprises, especially those that used to manufacture products for the Soviet Union. Soviet engineers, meaning experts were permanently there. They were expert in everything....

Mr. Brucan's interviews in Washington, London and Moscow were political in character, with stress on the resistance movement in Romania, which all those he talked to regarded with sympathy. In Moscow he met with the same carefulness not to get involved in Romania's domestic affairs. The only promise he got there was that his personal safety would be seen to.

## Nicu Ceausescu Released for Remainder of Trial

*AU2308163090 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1305 GMT 23 Aug 90*

[Text] The Bucharest Territorial Military Tribunal has decided in Sibiu that defendant Nicu Ceausescu will not be held in detention during his trial. The Bucharest Territorial Military Tribunal continued legal investigations in connection with the defendant's trial in Sibiu. The defendant is charged with the crime of genocide and failure to obey the law on weapons and ammunition.

The court announced the results of the supplementary examination carried out by the county forensic medicine laboratory, which confirm that Nicu Ceausescu is suffering from hepatic cirrhosis and varix of the esophagus. These diseases are particularly serious and incurable, and need to be treated by units of the Ministry of Health; therefore, the defendant's life may be endangered by being held in detention. Given this situation, the defense demanded that the defendant's preventive detention be revoked, and that he be allowed to remain free during his trial.

The Prosecutor's Office representative opposed this, saying that a new legal medical examination is necessary. The representative called for putting the defendant into a specialized medical unit—one that may be outside the penitentiary—and holding him under preventive observation. Considering that there are no doubts about the validity of the experts' witness, and about the effects of the illnesses diagnosed, the court decided to revoke the ruling of preventive detention, and to continue the trial with defendant Nicu Ceausescu being released.

### Infratirea TU, Government Team Discuss Problems

*AU2308153190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1330 GMT 23 Aug 90*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 23/8/1990—For several weeks the "Infratirea" Trade Union Federation of Brasov, which includes the trade unions of the machine building enterprises, has initiated a number of actions of protest pursuing the settlement—through a dialogue with the government—of the serious disfunctions persisting in this important industrial branch. Dissatisfied with the results of the talks conducted so far, the federation decided to continue the strike-type actions until the meeting with representatives of the relevant departments of the government empowered by it to decide, together with the trade unions, on the ways of solving the problems related to the Brasov workers' work and life and their claims.

A governmental team began a dialogue yesterday with the leaders of the "Infratirea" Trade Union Federation. The talks and negotiations evinced the fact that the government knows the problems confronting the trade unions.

Particularly complex are the implications of the lack of supplies of raw and subsidiary materials, a consequence of the remanence of the hypercentralized economic structures. Over this period of transition, the government is resolved to intervene to overcome the current state of affairs when the suppliers of the machine building industry have delivered only about 50 percent of the raw materials and parts needed leading to distortions and drawbacks the consequences of which are still visible. These problems will be solved by carrying into effect the law of the reorganization of state economic units into autonomous companies and commercial units and of the law of enterprises, now being drafted, which will set the producer-beneficiary relationships on strict contracts with each partner interested in being loyal and correct.

The question of food and consumer goods supply, vehemently raised by the trade unions, is followed up by the prime minister personally, the talks with the relevant departments pursuing precisely the fast settlement of the problems regarding the scarcity of commodities throughout the country.

### PNT-cd Calls for Coalition of Democratic Forces

*AU2308163490 Bucharest ROMPRS in English 1414 GMT 23 Aug 90*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 23/8/1990—The leadership of the Christian Democratic-National Peasants' Party [PNT-cd] has released an appeal whereby:

"Considering the unprecedented measures of extreme violence and terror that the present regime has organized in order to suppress the opposition and annihilate the budding democratization process," it calls on the traditional and newly created political parties to participate in a coalition of the democratic forces for: the independence and sovereignty of the country, the guaranteeing of the fundamental human rights and public freedoms, Romania's integration in the European spirit and checking the tendencies toward a new totalitarian regime.

"The coalition will observe the statutes and programs of all the adherent organizations that will espouse its platform while keeping their own doctrine, ideology and tactics unaltered," reads the appeal signed by Corneliu Coposu, chairman of the Christian Democratic National Peasants' Party.

### * Status of Group for Democratization of Army

*90BA0278C Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 7 Aug 90 p 1*

[T. Dumitru article]

[Text] We have to admit that we were getting impatient there, waiting for clarifications from the Ministry of National Defense [MND] on the fate of what became known as the Committee of Action for the Democratization of the Army (CADA). In a recent article, voicing the amazement caused by the resurfacing of this group—dismantled on 15 June by a decision of the Higher Military Council—ADEVARUL appealed to the MND for an overdue explanation: Was CADA dissolved, or not? Instead of a reply from the Army big brass, the independent ROMANIA LIBERA—an organ for opinions, information, and reportage—which judging by the extensive space recently devoted to CADA views has apparently assumed the role of "organ" of this still clandestine group—provided us with a fresh communique signed by CADA. From this communique we learned, among other things, what Lieutenant General Victor Stanculescu had to say about the Army in Timisoara at the beginning of May. "The Romanian revolution succeeded in Timisoara," the general said in an interview, "because, among other things, of the maturity and conscience of the cadres of this garrison. And as is well known, this is also where the first spark of the democratization of the Army was lit... I have adopted this idea, this spark, and legislating democratic principles in the hierarchical structures of the Army has become one of our most important objectives."

CADA chose to cite the minister in order to suggest that it originated the democratization. However, the polemic tone used to comment on Gen. Stanculescu's statement leaves room for different interpretations of Army democratization. Are we to understand that, in attributing to itself the role of the "spark" for democratization, CADA also assumes the responsibility for the fire that at one point broke out in the Army, prompting some military men to leave their garrison and come to Victory Square in Bucharest all the way from Timisoara or Topraisar?

Anyway, the communique carried in the CADA "organ," like the recent "Uncomfortable Conversations" with members of that group published in the same newspaper, completely ignore the explanations given by the Higher Army Council on 15 June for dissolving the CADA. We want to recall them in order to make it unequivocally clear that ADEVARUL did not dismantle that group—just as it never set out to "demolish" any institution or person—but the highest military group did, whose decisions are carried out without question even in the most democratic of the democratic armies.

The decision of the Higher Council stated that the measures proposed by that group "were aimed at dismantling certain structures that fulfill indispensable roles and functions for ensuring the Army's leadership and combat capabilities; establishing some so-called democratic bodies in the units not open to commanding officers; rallying Army personnel in support of the Proclamation of Timisoara, and retiring hundreds of high-ranking officers this year. At the same time, CADA's actions also inspired the emergence of other groups of cadres whose objectives and actions were in violation of the military norms of behavior and favored the publication in the press of many articles denigrating the Army. All these served to justify the Higher Military Council in its view that this unrepresentative committee carried out actions that played into the hands of certain political forces intent on causing social destabilization, as we saw on 13 and 14 June." On the basis of these considerations, the Council announced that it was "banning, as of 15 June 1990, the existence and operation of any groups and committees established outside the legal framework of the Army."

CADA representatives found our newspaper's question in a previous article as "odd, to say the least," but here it is again: "Which CADA?" We find it odd that an unrepresentative group of military men, as it was described by the high ranking Army body, dismantled under a decree, continues to speak publicly and dares to ignore military orders. Is this the kind of democracy promised to the Army?

It seems to us even odder that by remaining silent, the MND allows a certain ambiguity to persist in this respect. As if we didn't have enough ambiguities in our social and political life....

### Tirgu Mures Radio Editor's Attackers Identified

*AU2308103690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0842 GMT 23 Aug 90*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 23/8/1990—The attackers of Messrs. Petru Fontu, editor at the Tirgu Mures radio station, and Gheorghe Vasilescu, university lecturer were identified. They are Petru Dragos and Tamas Iosef Pall, both 21 and vagrant, who on August 18, attacked Messrs. Fontu and Vasilescu and inflicted serious injuries upon them. Legal inquiry is under way and the two criminals are under investigative arrest.

Mr. Fontu's condition was described as serious.

### Effects of Gulf Crisis on Petrochemical Combine

*AU2408125690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0954 GMT 24 Aug 90*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 24/8/1990—Dependent on oil imports, the petrochemical combine of Midia-Navodari (near Constanta) feels the effects of the Gulf crisis. In August the quantity of crude refined there was reduced from 329 thousand tonnes to 180 thousand tonnes and according to estimations it will continue to drop.

### Nastase at International Law Association Meeting

*AU2208185090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1728 GMT 22 Aug 90*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 22/8/1990—The founding meeting of the Group of Studies on European Unity Questions took place at the headquarters of the Association for International Law and International Relations in Bucharest, on August 22, in the presence of Romania's Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase.

The attendance included experts, researchers, politologists, writers, representatives of European bodies in Romania, journalists.

Professor Mircea Malita lectured on the occasion on Europe in the singular and in the plural, which was followed by debates.

The questions discussed included Romania's stand in the current European context, the current and future look of Europe, the events and transformations in Europe, the building of the new European security system, the current situation and foreseeable evolutions in the continent. The discussions evinced the wish to help elucidating and establishing the targets of foreign policy of new Romania in the current European context.

The future working meeting of the association is due on August 29. It will discuss proposals and plans for the future system of European security.

### Delegate Addresses Nuclear Nonproliferation Group

*AU2308210590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1859 GMT 23 Aug 90*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 23/8/1990—Mr. Constantin Ene, state secretary in the Foreign Ministry, representing Romania to the Geneva Conference on the Application of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, outlined Romania's stance on that document and on disarmament-related questions and showed that Romania creditably fulfilled its duties under the treaty and cooperated with the other parties for the attainment of nonproliferation targets. In that context, it was shown that after the December revolution the Romanian Government issued

a statement proclaiming null and void any possible accords concluded by the former dictatorial regime, which could run counter to Romania's international commitments in the area of the non-proliferation policy and in other fields.

Romania, he said, joined the group of countries exporting nuclear materials, equipment and technologies officially accepting the non-proliferation rules agreed upon by the respective countries. Furthermore, Romania officially adhered to the rules on nuclear transfers.

Highlighting the changes in Eastern Europe and in the world on the road to democracy and the observance of human rights and the states' sovereignty, the Romanian representative said: In the next five years the community of the states signatory to the Nonproliferation Treaty is offered a chance which may be unique. Benefiting from and contributing to the consolidation of the positive trends in the international life the foundations are laid for mankind's half-a-century-old dream—the abolition of nuclear weapons—to come true. To miss this opportunity is tantamount to the greatest error.

### Roman Receives U.S. Republican Deputy Wolf

*AU2308192890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1820 GMT 23 Aug 90*

["Official News: Mr. Frank Wolf Has Words of Appreciation for the Romanian Government's Progress in Economic Policy"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 23/8/1990—On Thursday, Mr. Petre Roman received Mr. Frank Wolf, member of the House of Representatives (Republican) for the State of Virginia, USA, member of the Committees for Fund Allocation, Children, Youth and Family Affairs and Famine-Related Affairs.

The American deputy expressed his personal view of the June 13-15 events in Bucharest and had words of appreciation for the Romanian Government's progress in economic policy and on the road to the democratization of the political life—the release of some of the people arrested on June 14 and 15 included.

The Romanian premier asked that he be offered all the necessary pieces of information that he could objectively brief the American parliament and invited the guest to visit the jails where those arrested in June are under investigation.

The American deputy came again to Romania, after his visit in January, to get acquainted with the course of the democratization process and the measures taken to secure fundamental human rights and freedoms.

### Roman Receives British Deputy, Writer

*AU2308210990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1933 GMT 23 Aug 90*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 23/8/1990—On Thursday afternoon Mr. Petre Roman, prime minister of Romania, received Mr. George Callaway, deputy in the House of Commons of Great Britain, a guest of the Romanian Cultural Foundation, and Mr. Bob Wylie, a writer, who are paying a fact-finding visit to Romania for a book on the Romanian revolution of December 1989.

Mr. Petre Roman recalled the key moments of December, in which he participated directly.

After the interview, Mr. George Callaway told journalists he was highly impressed with Romania's progress. Romania, he said, will be one of the most interesting and most beautiful countries in Europe.

### Deputies Assembly Official Meets British MP

*AU2308180490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1728 GMT 23 Aug 90*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 23/8/1990—Mr. Ionel Roman, deputy speaker of the House of Deputies, met on Thursday with Julian Amery, deputy in the House of Commons of the British Parliament, who is paying a visit to Romania. On the occasion, opinions were exchanged on the course of the democratic process in Romania, the cooperation between the two countries' parliaments, the parliamentarians' contribution to the expansion of bilateral economic cooperation and the consolidation of the climate of understanding and peace in Europe.

### Economic Sanctions on Iraq Causing 'Grave' Damage

*LD2308174190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1504 GMT 23 Aug 90*

Text] Belgrade, 23 Aug (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia is consistently implementing the economic sanctions against Iraq which have been adopted by the United Nations, but they are causing grave material damage to Yugoslavia, Yugoslav Foreign Ministry spokesman Ivo Vajgl told a regular news conference here today.

Thus, an action has been launched with the world organization to review the effects of these sanctions, and the Yugoslav Foreign Ministry has, through diplomatic channels, informed other international factors, such as the "group of 24" and the European Community, about this.

Speaking on Yugoslavia's activities in the Gulf crisis, Vajgl noted permanent contacts with U.N. Security Council member countries, exchange of views with the Soviet Union, China and Great Britain. He stressed that Yugoslav foreign minister had received two messages from U.S. Secretary of State James Baker and exchanged messages with Italian Foreign Minister Gianni de Michelis.

Vajgl noted that envoys of the French president and the Kuwaiti Government visited Belgrade recently. As the chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement, Yugoslavia has close and permanent consultations with these countries.

Yugoslavia is exerting efforts to protect the safety of a large number of its nationals and organize their return to the country, Vajgl said. There are 6,000 Yugoslavs in Iraq and around 30 in Kuwait, while 2,000 people have been evacuated so far, Vajgl said.

He said that the Yugoslav Embassy in Kuwait will continue working, since Yugoslavia does not recognize the annexation of that country in which it has vital interests.

### Croat Assembly Convenes in Special Session

*LD2408092290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0859 GMT 24 Aug 90*

[Text] Zagreb, 24 Aug (TANJUG)—All three chambers of the parliament of Croatia convened on Friday [24 August] morning here for a joint special session, to discuss the current political situation in the Knin region.

Opening the session, parliament president Zarko Domljan stressed that "these events have placed the democratically-elected authorities in the republic of Croatia before greatest temptation, and thanks to the composure and high awareness, wise behavior of the Croatian authorities, the expected escalation and conflict did not occur." According to Domljan, "the situation is calming down, and there are also offers for talk and dialogue."

Domljan set out that the parliament should assess the political situation and define stands and guidelines for future action of the organs of authority.

As the agenda was being adopted for the session, the proposal of the left bloc headed by the communists to delete the third item—dismissals and appointments—was turned down.

As reported in the night of Thursday-Friday, a package of personal changes included the biggest change—dismissal of Stipe Suvar as member of the Presidency of Yugoslavia from Croatia. Suvar is, as announced, to be replaced by Croatian Premier Stipe Mesic.

### Mesic Addresses Gathering

*LD2408115190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0825 GMT 24 Aug 90*

[Text] Zagreb, 24 Aug (TANJUG)—President of the Croatian Government, Stipe Mesic, stated in the Croatian Assembly today that the adoption of the constitutional amendments—the only purpose of which is the deideologization of symbolic and institutional elements of the Constitution, and which do not touch the rights of Serbs in Croatia—was used as an occasion for general civil disobedience by the Serbs in Croatia, which escalated into armed revolt, diversions, banditry on the roads, and violence.

Mesic was giving the introductory speech at a joint session of all chambers of the Croatian Assembly which is discussing the current political situation in the republic.

The president of the Croatian Government stressed that in Knin and other municipalities inhabited mainly by Serbs it was not a question of a spontaneous defensive reflex by the population in the face of alleged aggressive moves by the Croatian leadership, but rather "a carefully prepared and well-organized attempt at destroying the constitutional order and democratically elected government of Croatia."

Mesic gave the chronology of the recent events in Croatia, noting that every move by the new government of Croatia was obstructed on the part of the Serbian Democratic Party [SDS], which used them as an excuse for conflicts and not as a reason for cooperation. He said that the first individuals armed with firearms appeared as early as 8 and 9 August on the approach roads to Knin and that the SDS at that time began holding meetings in almost all local communities in which the majority population is of Serbian nationality.

As early as 15 and 16 August guards were organized in a number of local communities in Knin, at first armed with hunting weapons and pistols, but later with Yugoslav-made automatic and semi-automatic rifles and explosives. The guards were stopping vehicles and on occasions maltreating and insulting our own and foreign citizens.

Mesic said that the armed guards doubtless formed a part of an armed uprising, since they not only illegally took over the function of the internal affairs organs, but also prevented the functioning of the organs of government. It has been established, he said, that this form of

armed resistance was led by the SDS. The Croatian leadership, he said, invested great efforts to preserve peace and patience, and avoided any act of violence or reaction to provocations.

The facts gathered by the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs point to the conclusion that there existed a scenario for the destabilization of the Republic of Croatia, the destruction of its institutions and government, an attempt to involve the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] in that scenario, and the incitement of chaos, civil war, and a coup d'etat, Mesic stressed.

The president of the Croatian Government said that the attitude of political circles and organs in Serbia, the Serbian Orthodox Church, and public information media has already led to unforeseeably serious consequences for intranational relations in Croatia, and relations between the Croatian and Serbian nations as a whole. He said that the "passive attitude, unclear, ambiguous and even one-sided views and certain statements of the SFRY Presidency and its president gave rise to great confustion and concern in Croatia". The SFRY Presidency and its president, Mesic, did not contribute to the peaceful resolution of the serious economic and political situation, but rather inflamed passions and encouraged undemocratic, dogmatic, and Greater Serbian hegemonistic and Yugoslav unitaristic tendencies.

The president of the Croatian Government stressed that the attempt to prompt intervention by the Army and the introduction of a state of emergency in the republic by armed provocations did not succeed, and that "the top leadership of the JNA has offered an assurance to the Croatian leadership that the Army is not being and will not be drawn into attempts to destabilize Croatia." Mesic added that two young officers from the Knin garrison who took part in the revolt have been arrested and handed over to the military court. However, he said, the Air Force's action in preventing the execution of the tasks of the ministry of internal affairs has yet to be clarified. Likewise, the statement made by General Blagoje Adzic to Mesic that if a single person falls in Croatia then the Army will intervene, has yet to be explained.

Croatia has suffered immeasurable political, economic, and cultural damage, Stipe Mesic stressed. He said that at this juncture this cannot be precisely quantified.

The Croatian Government, Mesic said in conclusion, will ensure that the responsibility is established of all participants in the violation of the law or support for the armed uprising and that the sanctions laid down by the provisions of the law will be pronounced.

He drew attention to the fact that "any encouragement or support for attempts to threaten the democratic processes and sovereignty of Croatia could permanently endanger the fundamental prerequisites for the peaceful and free existence of the people and nations who live in our lands." The leadership of the Republic of Croatia is fully aware of the historical responsibility it is facing, Mesic concluded.

### Cadre Changes Expected

*AU2308205190 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 23 Aug 90*

[Text] Apart from discussing the political-security situation in Croatia, the deputies to the Croatian Assembly will decide about some cadre changes at the highest level of the Croatian leadership during their extraordinary Assembly session tomorrow. HINA [Croatian News Agency] reports that at the proposal of the Commission for Election and Appointment, Stipe Suvar will withdraw from the Yugoslav State Presidency and will be replaced by the present Croatian Prime Minister, Stipe Mesic. The present vice president of the Croatian Presidency, Josip Marulic, is proposed to become the new republican prime minister.

The present defense minister, Petar Kriste will be replaced by Colonel General Martin Spegelj, while Kriste would take over the department of trade.

Ivan Mucer, chairman of the Croatian delegation to the SFRY Assembly Chamber of Republics and Provinces, will be withdrawn and it is proposed that Ante Karic replace him. Ante Cicin Sain will become the governor of the Croatian National Bank instead of Jovo Galic. HINA reports that some other dismissals and appointments are also possible.

Our correspondent in Croatia has reported that in its 1700 [1500 GMT] news broadcast, Croatian Television announced that along with Mesic and Tudjman, Stipe Suvar, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, will also make an introductory speech at the extraordinary session of the Assembly. In the following newscast, HINA denied Suvar's participation.

The changes have not been announced so far, but a session of the caucus of the deputies of the Croatian Democratic Community has been going on behind closed doors almost all day.

### 23 Croat Parties Meet To Discuss Knin Events

*AU2308191890 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 22 Aug 90 p 4*

[Davor Ivankovic report: "United in the Defense of Croatia"]

[Excerpts] Zagreb—The most dramatic attempt to date to destabilize Croatia and resolve political issues in a putschist way was the reason for the Croatian Social Liberal Party to invite the representatives of all Croatian political parties to a meeting in Zagreb yesterday. Twenty-three parties accepted the invitation. Miljenko Zagar, chief secretary of the Croatian Democratic Community, was also there. The absence of Jovan Raskovic or other representatives of the Serbian Democratic Party

[SDS], the actual protagonists in the putschist events in Croatia, was noticeable. Drazen Budisa, president of the Croatian Social Liberal Party and the host of the meeting, explained why Raskovic was absent saying that despite some dilemma the SDS was not invited because a section of the SDS's membership resorted to violence to realize its political aims. By doing this the SDS has pulled out of the circle of democratic parties of Croatia.

The representatives of various parties accepted, with some alterations, the offered text of the proclamation of the Croatian political parties. The proclamation symbolizes the lowest threshold of unity among Croatian political parties concerning the threat to Croatia's territorial sovereignty. It is expected that the proclamation will have a pacifying effect on Croats and Serbs in Croatia, and that it will strengthen the influence and presence of opposition parties in the creation of Croatian politics.

After the draft proclamation for the Croatian people was read out, the representatives of numerous parties started a discussion which went for several hours. Petar Vucic from the Movement for Confederation said that the SDS definitely proved itself to be a terrorist organization which blackmails the state and the people. Since it was known that a scenario to destroy democracy in Croatia existed, and that Raskovic was putting it into practice, we should have organized a much better defense.

**Chief Scenarist—Milosevic**

Anton Vujic, president of the Social Democratic Party of Croatia, expressed satisfaction with the fact that the representatives of the SDS were not at the meeting. Ivan Gabelica, vice president of the Croatian Democratic Party, said that what was happening did not represent a clash between the SDS and the Croatian Democratic Community, but an attack by great Serbian imperialists on Croatia. True, the government should have consulted all opposition parties in Croatia in order to find a better solution to Croatia's defense, but we nevertheless extend full support to the Croatian government in defending the territorial sovereignty of Croatia. Gabelica also said that at present there is no sense in holding any talks with the SDS, because Knin is in the heart of Croatia, and therefore there can be no autonomy. By doing this we would be betraying the Croatian people, dividing Croatia, reducing it to three counties. Serbs in Croatia have all rights, even more rights than Croats. The Croats living in Vojvodina are without any rights whatsoever, Gabelica said appealing to the Croats in Vojvodina to demand the same rights enjoyed by the Serbs in Croatia. The SDS must change its stand and present its problems to the Croatian Assembly, Gabelica said. He held the view that all Croats should be called to defend the integrity of Croatia and that the proclamation should have a mobilizing character.

Boris Malada, vice president of the League of Communists of Croatia—Party of Democratic Changes, said that he would like the representatives of the SDS to be among other party representatives, but that they first needed to comply with democratic criteria required to attend such a meeting. The ultimate aim of the great Serbian scenario, Malada said, is not only to crush Croatia, but also to create a greater Serbia within Yugoslavia. They are therefore increasing centralist pressure in order to foment separatism in Croatia. Malada described Milosevic as the chief scenarist behind the idea of a great Serbia who wants to weaken the Croatian authorities and strengthen undemocratic forces because he is afraid of democracy. Malada was in favor of an active policy aimed at proving that there is a terrorist wing in the SDS and at returning confidence to the people. He said that the idea of Croatia's sovereignty must be completely elaborated and presented to Yugoslavia. He said that Croatia will always be a national state of Croats. He also said that there is no doubt that the Serbs are afraid, but that they need to be convinced that fear can only be eliminated through the development of democracy. Malada held the view that the proponents of the idea of a great Serbia will attack Montenegro and Macedonia next.

Kresimir Pavelic, secretary of the Croatian Party of Justice, expressed concern that Croats are turning into sheep. He described Raskovic as Milosevic's puppet saying that he did not represent Serbs in Croatia. According to him, talks should not be held with Raskovic, but with Milosevic who is the main advocate of the idea of a greater Serbia. He assessed the conduct of Mesic's government as wise in view of the fact that some people wanted to see the Croatian side apply repression and force.

Vito Cesmadziski from RUSED [Movement Which Favors the Idea of the United States of Europe] condemned the use of weapons saying that this has pushed democracy in Croatia to an impasse. These events demonstrate the weakness of democratic forces in Yugoslavia and indicate that the possibility of a military coup is increasingly closer, because political and financial anarchy reigns throughout Yugoslavia. We ourselves have become the prisoners of antagonistic forces which are blocking the country. Milorad Pupovac from the League of Social Democrats was in favor of negotiations. He said that he supported efforts aimed at establishing people's confidence, and that, therefore, it was not wise not to invite Raskovic. [passage omitted]

Silvije Degen from the Socialist Party of Croatia condemned violence and said that Serbs in Croatia can only be represented by elected delegates, and only in the Croatian Assembly. Muharem Nexhipi from the Democratic Alliance of Croatian Albanians said that 150,000 Albanians living in Croatia condemn the idea of a greater Serbia concluding that the Serbs would have not been able to act in this way had they not had support in the federation. [passage omitted]

Radovan Peric from the Rijeka Democratic Alliance wanted the SDS to expel all terrorists from its ranks and return weapons to the Croatian authorities. The Rijeka Democratic Alliance will ask its citizens to boycott the SDS until it breaks with terrorism. Nikola Novakovic from the Croatian Peasant Party said that the SDS had

nothing in common with Pribicevic's party that existed before the war, and that the SDS and Raskovic should be ridiculed. Ante Markovic, who wants to divide us and destroy us, is an even greater enemy than Raskovic, Novakovic said. [passage omitted]

### Tensions Said 'Rising'

*LD2308160990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1420 GMT 23 Aug 90*

[Text] Knin, 23 Aug (TANJUG)—Tuesday [21 August] night was comparatively calm in the Knin region except for a few sporadic incidents.

Commotion occurred in the town after the Croatian television's news broadcast at 1930 hours local time in which the chief of police in Sibenik, Ante Bujas, denied claims by the Serbian Democratic Party (SDP) [SDS] that policemen in nearby Drnis were blackmailed by threats of sacking and forced by arms to "advance on knin" on the night of August 21-22.

As stated at last night's press conference in Knin, 70 policemen from Drnis, including 20 Croats, disobyed the order because they did not wish to deepen ethnic hatred and advance on their fellow workers in Knin, who have sided fully with the local Serbs.

Roads in the Knin region were again blocked last night and guarded by armed civilians preventing newsmen from reaching Drnis, where a "hot night" was anticipated. Croats in Drnis and the surrounding area disapproved of the conduct of the local police, demanding that they "crush the uprising" in Knin.

Accurate reports on last night in Drnis were not available this morning. According to unofficial sources, however, it was calmer than expected.

Tension is rising in the region ahead of tomorrow's emergency session of the republican assembly of Croatia. The SDP executive committee is to decide today whether its deputies would attend the session.

Knin's deputy to the assembly's chamber of municipabities Dr Dusan Zelenbaba said he would go to Zagreb if guaranteed full personal security.

### Knin Veterans Predict Ustasha To Take Power

*AU2308184490 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 23 Aug 90*

[Milos Rajkovic and Kosta Krajincanic report from Knin]

[Text] Tomorrow's extraordinary session of the Croatian Assembly is anticipated with visible tension in the Knin region, Bukovica, and Lika. No illusions are held here about the republican parliament radically changing the official Croatian position on Serbian autonomy. The fear, however, has been expressed that, after the Croatian Assembly session, the threats from Zagreb may be realized and special police units may intervene.

Increased vigilance results from this. Armed individuals guard all important buildings, and all roads were blocked last night. Unlike previous nights when continued travel was possible following a strict inspection of automobiles and passengers, all passage was halted last night.

We saw this on the main road between Knin and Sibenik. The barricades no longer consist of roughly piled up rocks or felled trees, but of large, loaded trucks parked across the road, so that they cannot be bypassed. The armed youths are equipped with modern technical devices for communications between themselves and with the staff.

The excitement arising from the unsuccessful organization of an attack by militia forces on Knin on the night of 20-21 August has not yet abated. On that occasion, 70 militiamen and reservists—both Serbs and Croats—refused to obey their orders to attack and instead threw down their arms. We have not succeeded in obtaining any official report at the Drnis Militia Station where all this occurred; however, individual militiamen unofficially confirmed that it was true, because they participated directly in the event.

Josip Boljkovac, chief of the Croatian police, has not commented on this event, but, in a statement to Zagreb VJESNIK, he declared that three inspectors of the Knin militia will not be dismissed from service for signing a petition against the new police uniforms, as was announced. As is known, some 3,000 Knin people held a protest rally because of this.

A report has been received from the Zadar Secretariat for Internal Affairs to the effect that all the weapons distributed to the citizens of Obrovac last Friday [17 August] have been returned to depots.

We have just learned that, in the village of Djevrske in Bukovica at about 1300 [1100 GMT] today, people disarmed two militiamen of the Sibenik Secretariat for Internal Affairs with their bare hands, because Sibenik police have been banned from entering this village.

Shortly before 1500 [1300 GMT], a rally of almost 3,000 workers began at the largest Knin factory of Trik. They were informed that the plant must halt production because of the blockade [words indistinct]. After all the threats, is this the beginning of a new method of pressure on the Serbian people in Croatia?

The Knin region veterans unanimously denounced today the attempts of the Croatian leadership to prevent the Serbian people's referendum on autonomy. They are indignant toward everything that is happening in Yugoslavia—especially in Croatia. The specters of the past have awakened, and the specters of the present have joined them, Tomislav Matala said. He asked whether the League of Communists of Croatia did everything it could, and should, have done in the election campaign so as to prevent the assumption of power by the Croatian Democratic Community. In the opinion of the veterans,

treason and selling the country have been occurring for as long as our system has existed.

Momir Popovic met with loud cheering when he said that the Ustasha Falanga has assumed power and that the Serbian people will never consent to live under the symbols under which they were slaughtered and mistreated during the last war. When Ivica Racan, leader of the Croatian Communists, says that in essence he agrees with the policy of the Croatian leadership, what can I ask him or expect of him? Racan should be tried for treason. When veterans heard these words by Vasa Crnogorac, they shouted: Down with Racan.

Rade Bulat, president of the Croatian Veterans Federation, supported the veterans' stand that the Croatian leadership headed by Tudjman has forced the Serbian people in the Knin region to take up arms and to defend themselves. Asked by veterans why he did not say so publicly, Bulat replied that he had done so in an interview, but the interview was not published.

### 'We Are Facing a Fraticidal War'

*LD2308175490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1610 GMT 23 Aug 90*

[Text] Knin, 23 Aug (TANJUG)—No-one of the most highly responsible men of Yugoslavia and Croatia in this exceptionally complex situation, has arrived in Knin to talk with people, to hear how they see the events—Rade Bulat, president of the Organization of War Veterans of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, pointed out today.

In a talk between Bulat and representatives of the war veteran organizations of the cities of Knin, Drnis and Gracac, concerning the events around the referendum of Serbs on cultural autonomy in Croatia, it was emphasized that the leaders of both the Serbian and Croatian peoples should realize that "we are facing a fratricidal war and we need an urgent accord."

In answering the question about a new organization, "The Union of War Veterans" which rallies Croatian veterans alone, Bulat said that every organization formed on the national basis was fatal and prospectless. Extremists, Bulat added, do exist in the ranks of both the Croatian Democratic Union (CDU) [HDZ] and the Serbian Democratic Party (SDP) [SDS], and the veterans have to resolutely oppose every enemy of the people.

In pointing out that there is no Yugoslavia without the brotherhood of the Croatian and Serbian peoples, Bulat underlined that 185,000 veterans of Croatia must side with the people in the Knin region and calm down the passions, because those in jeopardy are not only Serbs but also Croatian people as well as Yugoslavia.

### Zagreb Journalists Claim Harassed in Obrovac

*AU2408122890 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 20 Aug 90 p 2*

[Ivica Marijacic report: "Entry Forbidden to Croats"]

[Text] Obrovac—Obrovac, the north Dalmatian town on the Zrmanja, seems to still be a danger zone for all unknown and unwanted visitors. We are talking about the almost prewar-like atmosphere, the impossible psychosis in which you are coldly and hostilely stared at by the men who stand all around, so that you cannot avoid their curiosity. The VJESNIK and VECERNJI LIST team including Stjepan Malovic, Ana Dobrovic, and the writer of these lines was "accompanied" out of Obrovac in rather a rude fashion with the "request" that we not write anything.

#### They Do Not Have Time

We first of all wanted to get information in the communal Assembly building on the course of the referendum because we could not find anything out on the streets. After showing our identification in the office of the president of the Executive Council we were rebuffed by a clerk who said: "The situation is tense, they do not have time." While we waited to be received by the president, Sergije Veselinovic, president of the Communal Assembly, was also obviously consulted and the joint decision was made not to receive us.

Wanting to nevertheless find out more about the political-security situation in the Obrovac Commune, we set off for the building of the communal Secretariat for Internal Affairs. Immediately after leaving the communal Assembly building, we were followed by a man as if we were suspicious persons, and as soon as we crossed the bridge over the Zrmanja, a group of young men came out from behind the building of the Secretariat of Internal Affairs and stopped us, wanting to see our identification. After they realized from the visiting card of our colleague from VECERNJI LIST that we were journalists and that we were from Zagreb editorial offices, the young men asked us to go back because we had no business being there. They said: "We have had enough of lies by the Croatian papers. Turn around and leave Obrovac so that there is no fighting and no one gets thrown into the Zrmanja!" Accompanying us to our car, parked in front of the Obrovac hotel, one of the young men asked: "Which one of you is Marijacic? Is it you?" In a tense situation when belligerent young men have surrounded their prey, your reporter had no other choice but to say in self defense: "No, I am not. We are from Zagreb!" However, having accompanied us to the vehicle and having seen the Zadar license plates, one of the young men nevertheless concluded that one of us was Marijacic. Fortunately, he let us go, everything passed without incident, and we hurried toward Zadar, almost petrified.

#### There Is No Help

Our impression was that the young men had been told by the communal Secretariat for Internal Affairs to intercept us and send us back. This has probably been happening recently to even the least suspicious people in Obrovac. Obrovac is still sporting the decorations that were prepared a few days ago. There is a facade of banners written in black capital letters saying: "This is Serbia" with four Cyrillic letters S. On the road sign at

the beginning of the main street which bans trucks from entering the town, the words "and Croats too" have been added, as well as the new big slogan "We will burn Franjo." Two cafes which are owned by Croats from neighboring Krusevo have been closed for several days. A broken neon sign hangs above one of them and the glass has been smashed in the other so that there is a gaping hole next to Serbian symbols.

**There Are No Rights**

The question would occur to any reporter: What can it be like for Croats who work here in this atmosphere, live here every day, or just drop by? They are full of anxiety and fear for their lives in their own homeland, Croatia, which is obviously not recognizing them.

## Serb Leader in Knin Region Indicates Little Hope

*AU2308201890 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 23 Aug 90*

[Interview with Marko Dobrijevic, member of the main committee of the Serbian Democratic Party, by Milos Rajkovic; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Rajkovic] Mr. Dobrijevic, the Croatian Assembly is meeting tomorrow in an extraordinary session. The subject of its discussion will most certainly be the situation that has arisen in connection with the Serbs' referendum on their autonomy in Croatia. What do you the Serbian Democratic Party should expect from tomorrow's Assembly session?

[Dobrijevic] We in the Serbian Democratic party expect nothing good from the Croato-centric and pro-Ustasha Assembly. Therefore nothing good can be expected by (?the 11 of us). Our deputies will most likely not attend the session, because nobody guarantees them safety not even for reaching Zagreb, let alone for normally taking part in the Assembly session.

[Rajkovic] An pronounced fear exists among the people that after the Assembly session the Croatian authorities may perhaps use force, or rather that all the threats made in Zagreb will come to be true.

[Dobrijevic] Absolutely. This is obvious from their units, which is to say their special units present in this region. In fact we are surrounded. It is obvious that they will do this. They are already doing it. You have probably heard that a police patrol raided our territory, and that the people managed to disarm the unit with their bare hands. Such things happen because provocations and raids are made against this territory every day.

[Rajkovic] Let us return to the plebiscite on the autonomy of the Serbian people in Croatia. The fifth day of the plebiscite is ending, the results—at least as far as the participation of the people in the polling is concerned—are more than good. May I ask you to comment on the course so far?

[Dobrijevic] The course of the plebiscite so far is better than expected. At present one does not know a single person who has failed to vote. At all the polling stations—you know how this was organized—the polling, for the most part, has been concluded. We are more than satisfied with this, particularly if one considers the conditions under which we carried out the plebiscite.

I think it is the right of every people, including the Serbian people in Croatia, to say at such a plebiscite what they think about Yugoslavia, and what they think about the authorities in Croatia at the moment. As you see, we do not recognize them at this moment, because they are no longer just Croato-centric, but also Ustasha.

This plebiscite is, so to speak, concluded. We only have some individual cases left. In every place, polling stations are open perhaps for an hour or two, in case somebody who has not yet voted decides to come in. In general, this is a plebiscite that is at its end.

[Rajkovic] You, Mr. Dobrijevic, together with Jovan Raskovic, leader of your party, and Branko Popovic, general secretary, are on the list of the people who Sibenik tried to deport from their homes. A petition is being signed in Sibenik for the second day demanding that you be coerced to leave your homes and be deported. How do you feel about this?

[Dobrijevic] Well, you know, this was to be expected. How do I feel? I feel very miserably in a fascistoid state, such as Croatia of the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] is. However, I wish to say something more about this pressure.

You see, big-mouth Bujas talks in Sibenik about having received a letter stating that he will be killed. There are 5,000 people against me in Sibenik. Of course, this was staged by the HDZ in Sibenik. They are signing petitions. Among these 5,000 people, one can always be found who is ready to shoot. They have already told me so.

I have not been in this region for five days now. I have no access to my apartment. My neighbors have informed me that questions have been asked about the whereabouts of my wife and children, and I receive threats daily. Raskovic experiences the same. A few hours ago I was informed that he was attacked at the airport.

Branko Popovic, secretary general, is sitting in his house, not daring to go out. Last night the tires of his car were slashed, and people demonstrated beneath his windows. These are hordes that can be stopped only by force.

[Rajkovic] But you will continue your political activities?

[Dobrijevic] Yes, we will continue our political activities until Croatia is free and until every person gets the right to declare with whom they want to live and how they want to live. We will live in Yugoslavia, and this is our fate.

**Serb Nationalism in Knin, Kosovo Discussed**

*AU2408081690 Ljubljana NEODVISNI DNEVNIK in Slovene 20 Aug 90 p 1*

[Branislav Milosevic commentary: "Misuse of the People"]

[Text] As one of its last investments in its survival, the regime of the so-called antibureaucratic revolution has probably invested more than it had, and more than it should have invested. When playing with the interests of the Serbs in Croatia, when forging and building their interests upon lies, half-truths, and disinformation—the practice joined by the agency which is still being counted as Yugoslav and financed by us as such—the organizers of the foiled uprising of the Serbs in Croatia somehow thought that the time had come for them to proclaim a state of war (!), and "get" the units of the Yugoslav People's Army to the streets.

Reacting in a resolute and, on this occasion, timely way to the reckless "redeployment" of Army units to suit the needs of the local political adventurers and their more powerful political tutors, the Army has left the regime of the so-called antibureaucratic revolution in the lurch. It is now clear that this regime can exhibit nothing else but a primitive, nationalist, and mythomaniac tirade of its senile ideologues, and the aggressive unawareness and ignorance of its leading fighters.

As much as one can understand the desperate persistence of the losers in the ranks of the so-called antibureaucratic revolution movement, one cannot understand the motives of the legitimate Croatian authorities who reacted with an inappropriate harshness to the execution of a political intention, some of whose aims are not clear even to the majority of the potential participants, and some of whose other aims—which is more important—are unrealizable in a true law-governed state.

The results of the policy of protecting Serbian national interests in Kosovo testify more clearly against the desperate attempt to prolong the agony of primitive Serbian nationalism than do threats with the means of the so-called law-governed state, something to which the Croatian authorities resorted. The attempt is being made to hide the complete failure of that policy by turning the Serbs in Croatia into new hostages of the regime of the so-called antibureaucratic revolution, which links its political survival to the real or apparent endangered interests of the Serbian people.

Once the referendum of the Serbs in Croatia ends peacefully, the more difficult part of the job comes—resuming the coexistence of the two peoples on the basis of full equality, tolerance, and mutual respect.

This is why fog and smoke, and empty words and boasting will not suffice; a reasoned and sober agreement of real people's representatives is necessary. Such an agreement will be possible when acts start speaking against the lies about a new arrangement in which there will be only one chosen people who will be privileged in every respect, while everybody around them will be happy to be able to serve them and to admire the wisdom of their power-thirsty leaders.

**Rugova: Government Concealing Kosovo 'Repression'**

*AU2408073390 Skopje FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT in Albanian 19 Aug 90 pp 1, 4-5*

[Emin Azemi report: "Yugoslavia Breaks Its International Pledges"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] As usual, the Presidium of the Kosovo Democratic Alliance [DSK] held its regular news conference the day before yesterday, and briefed journalists on the current situation in Kosovo. Dr. Ibrahim Rugova made his comments at this news conference, saying that the police state is continuing its onward march, and is now trying to whitewash its repression with demagogy and hypocrisy.

We call on the SFRY Presidency to state explicitly which federal measures of the state of emergency have been lifted, because units of the federal militia force can still be seen in Kosovo, although we know that, according to the Federation, the state of emergency has been lifted. We demand that the SFRY Presidency, as commander in chief of the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] should explicitly state for what reason the Serbian militia are using the JNA's equipment. We have seen several JNA vehicles with Army number plates. What kind of "marriage" is this, when it is well known that the JNA leaders say that the Army belongs to all people. We Albanians also have soldiers in it, although not many in command posts.

We demand that the Presidencies of Macedonia, Bosnia and Hercegovina, Montenegro, and Vojvodina withdraw their militia units from Kosovo as soon as possible.

We demand that the Yugoslav Supreme Court and the Yugoslav Constitutional Court revoke the Serbian law on special circumstances, because this is for us a law of occupation. These were some of Dr. Ibrahim Rugova's main demands at the news conference.

At this DSK news conference, journalists were also informed about some of the viewpoints of this alternative movement regarding current economic and political trends in Kosovo. The fatal destruction of the Kosovo economy these days is being accompanied by demagogy alleging that the Albanians do not want to work, when it is well known, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova continued, that even the most profitable economic enterprises are being destroyed and are being economically and politically appropriated merely in order to rescue the Serbian economy, which Serbian policy is ruining. Even companies with shareholders such as Bankkos are being destroyed. These measures recall the decade of the twenties of this century, when the Serbian authorities prohibited Jews from trading.

The news conference's chairman then went on to protest and condemn the militia's intervention against the medical staff at the Pristina Medical Faculty clinics.

We also demand that the new school year should begin normally and that the necessary preparations for this should be carried out. In connection with the case of the Serbian militia's murder of Refki Suka from Bllace near Suva Reka, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova expressed deepest condolences to the family of the deceased in the name of the DSK. This is a typical case, Rugova said, of how the Serbian militia do not leave the Albanians in peace even on their own property.

As for the militaristic demands of the Peony Association for the formation of armed units, Rugova asked the leaders of this falangist organization to behave more sensibly toward their people and not to play with fire, because by the laws of nature they will only burn themselves.

As usual, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova appealed again at this news conference for the Albanian people, even in these times of extreme pressure, to be patient and not to fall for the provocations of those who want to find any excuse for violence and bloodshed.

Professor Dr. Fehmi Agani's presentation was also of interest. He said that the new measures of the Serbian state organs directly attacking the Kosovo economy must be given a name, and that name is genocide. Prof. Agani justified this by explaining that it is the Albanians themselves who are paying the cost of these measures with their dismissals from work, the ruin of the best collectives, and the hounding of the best Albanian cadres from the economic and medical fields, etc.

Asked by a TANJUG journalist whether the DSK supports the strike announced for 3 September by the Kosovo Independent Trade Unions, Ibrahim Rugova said that we as a party have nothing against this strike and support it, because it is the sole means left for workers to obtain their rights. In reply to a question by the same journalist about the DSK's application for registration, Rugova said that we have assembled all the documentation required by federal law, have applied for registration, and believe that we will succeed.

The TANJUG journalist was curious to know what the DSK and especially its leader Ibrahim Rugova thought about the referendum of the Serbs in Croatia. Rugova said that we are committed to the principle of all citizens, regardless of the national allegiance, enjoying their political and democratic rights in all republics, as the highest leadership in Croatia has also stated. Meanwhile, regarding the demand of the Serbs for cultural autonomy, it has not been legally clear whether they are merely demanding specific autonomy for the Serbs living there, or something else. Explained in this way, it seems that the demand is a kind of bid on the part of the Serbian government to gain some kind of position in future talks concerning the reorganization of Yugoslavia.

After a journalist's question about the visit of a delegation of U.S. congressmen to Kosovo, Ibrahim Rugova said that we have been unofficially informed that a delegation of U.S. congressmen headed by Robert Dole will visit Kosovo toward the end of August or the beginning of September. We must wait for further details about this visit, about which the public will be informed. [passage omitted]

## TU President Jailed for 'Breaking Public Order'

*LD2408064490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0508 GMT 24 Aug 90*

[Text] Pristina, 24 Aug (TANJUG)—President of the Independent Trade Union Organization of Kosovo Hajrullah Gorani has been jailed for 60 days for breaking public order and peace and for claims which have caused anxiety among people and hostility towards the state organs and their decisions. He was sent to jail before the court ruling became effective.

Gorani was convincted by a court in Pristina, capital of the Kosovo Province, for "breaking public order and peace" at a press conference on August 22, and for claiming that ethnic Albanian workers in Kosovo were being exposed to repressive measures and fired without justification.

On behalf of his organization, Gorani urged all ethnic Albanians in the province to go on a general strike, which the court found could "thwart the implementation of decisions and measures adopted by the state organs."

The Independent Trade Union Organization is not formally registered either in Serbia, or in the Province of Kosovo.

Kosovo is a hotbed of ethnic conflicts in Yugoslavia. The mediaeaval Serbian state was formed on its territory, about 90 per cent of whose population are now ethnic Albanians, who demand the province's independence from the Republic of Serbia.

## Slovenia's Peterle Views Secession, Military

*AU2408093790 Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 7 Aug 90 pp 13-15*

[Interview with Slovene Prime Minister Lojze Peterle by Zoran Medved; place and date not given: "We Are Not a Quisling Government"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Medved] We are conducting our interview after the visit by President Jovic and members of the SFRY Presidency to Slovenia. After this and many other contacts with representatives of the federal authorities, how much room for maneuvering does Slovenia's have in Yugoslavia?

[Peterle] Considering that Mr. Jovic presented the Presidency stand that all options in Yugoslavia are still open even for the Presidency, I think that our room for

maneuvering is relatively wide. The question of course is what will the Presidency formally decide on the basis of the talks it had in Slovenia.

[Medved] One frequently talks about so-called unproductive disputes recently, for instance between Slovenia and the federal Presidency, or between Slovenia and the Army. This is also a thesis advanced by Janez Drnovsek. Are there any unproductive political disputes in Yugoslavia?

[Peterle] I consider unproductive above all those disputes that arise because of an incorrect interpretation of formal stands. They proceed from the assumption that you are facing an adversary. Recently I witnessed two conversations, one with the SFRY Presidency, and another with generals from the Fifth Army Region. In both cases, the talks were correct, many things were frankly stated, and many were clarified. The difficulty arises when this direct information is lacking, and when official stands are being replaced with some secondary stands on those former stands, and there follows a reinterpretation of the original text, rather than its explanation. I think that these talks opened a kind of a normal dialogue. Problems will only arise when assessments are based on interpretations and a priori assumptions, or if somebody is thoroughly unyielding.

The dilemma of how to find a balance between practical life which has run ahead of the changes in the legal system, and legalism was in the forefront in these discussions. If we proceed from pure legalism, the Slovene authorities are completely illegal, because the federal Constitution does not recognize any such elections. The same applies to Croatia, and so we can quickly land in difficulties. On the other hand, if we are quite consistent, we must also note that the appointment of General Hocevar as commander of the Territorial Defense of Slovenia also was not correct, because at the first stage, he was appointed without the consent of the Republic of Slovenia.

[Medved] No agreement on military questions was reached in the talks with the SFRY Presidency, and the problem of the September class of recruits remains open. In addition, in the Slovene Assembly you spoke about some kind of military exercises in which the new authorities in Slovenia and Croatia are treated as Quislings. Nobody has yet fully explained this proposition to the people....

[Peterle] It is a fact that a military exercise has been held, and continues to be held, proceeding from the assumption that Quisling governments in Slovenia and Croatia have joined the "blue" aggressors. We insist that the exercise under such an assumption be terminated. We have again received assurances from the military authorities that the exercise is not held on these assumptions, and that the assumptions were prepared last year, when there was no new democratic power in Slovenia. They assured us that there is no reason for political interpretations of the exercise and that it was quite normal. With the aid of documents at our disposal, we demonstrated that a completely different interpretation was possible and that the assumptions were not canceled.

[Medved] What will happen with the recruits?

[Peterle] We have pointed several times to the constitutional and legal provisions according to which it is entirely up to the federal secretary what distribution he orders, and we pointed out that on some past occasions, we had a much greater percentage of the Slovene recruits who served the Army in their own republic. We see no hindrance to increasing this percentage, considering that Slovenia has not posed any impossible demands, as some people in the Army try to represent.

Our stand was publicly interpreted by some people to mean a demand for forming a single-nationality army. We clearly said that this was not the case, but that we only demand an increased proportion of those who will serve the Army in Slovenia, and in the long run we wish that they all serve the Army here. This does not mean that young men from other places of Yugoslavia could not serve the Army in Slovenia, because according to the present design, Slovenia could not fill all the requirements. Here we probably have to deal with consciously false interpretations. Nevertheless, the Federal Secretariat for National Defense increased the proportion of recruits who will remain in Slovenia in September from eight to 15 percent.

[Medved] What are the possibilities for the secession of Slovenia at this moment? The SFRY Presidency is drafting a law on secession, and it is envisaged that the population of a republic that wants to secede should decide so in a referendum. At the talks in Ljubljana, the Slovene leadership made it known that it does not agree with such a law and it was of the opinion that the law was not necessary. Why?

[Peterle] The federal Presidency came to Ljubljana with the draft bill which ought to regulate this question. We clearly said that such a draft was not necessary for Slovenia's sake, because our primary desire is not secession but a serious striving for a confederal system in Yugoslavia. The proposed draft is not acceptable because according to it, it may depend on a single commune whether secession takes place or not. Such a de facto act does not make secession possible except under ideal conditions. Mr. Jovic assured us that this provision does not concern Slovenia because it is nationally homogeneous, but that it applies more to other republics; however, we were not satisfied with this explanation.

The Slovene Government is working on the technical question of secession, but only in the case that the desired confederal system is not introduced in Yugoslavia or in the case that something happens which would force Slovenia to chose secession as its road.

[Medved] Have you the impression that somebody in Yugoslavia wants to "get rid" of Slovenia on purpose?

[Peterle] We acquainted President Jovic with this impression. It sometimes seems to us that certain political forces strive to get Slovenia to secede, because then they could more easily pursue their own political interests.

[Medved] This is also connected with the possibility that a referendum on secession in Slovenia might not succeed. Do you think that the pressure of others in Yugoslavia on the political forces in Slovenia would grow?

[Peterle] It is interesting that the Presidency now offers a referendum on secession although at this moment I do not know a single republic that would demand secession. According to the Constitution, secession is possible anyway, and therefore I see no need for a special law on secession. We also do not see any need for a referendum ordered by the federal government. A referendum will be held by the will of the Slovenes if the need arises.

[Medved] When may we expect a Slovene proposal for a confederal system in Yugoslavia?

[Peterle] The Slovene Government has appointed a commission which will be complemented with members of the republican Presidency and the Assembly, and we will continue to work on this project with increased speed. At this moment, I may say that the plan will be finished by the middle of August.

[Medved] You once denied that Demos [Democratic Opposition of Slovenia] and the Croatian Democratic Community agreed about a possible confederation of Slovenia and Croatia. Now one talks about this possibility more and more.

[Peterle] The circumstances have changed. In the meanwhile, democratic power has been installed in Croatia, too, and our views on future development are very close. There is a possibility that a confederation might be formed only between Slovenia and Croatia, but there is also the possibility that this confederal treaty might be opened to other interested parties, for instance Bosnia-Hercegovina. Well, if we talk about all the options, a Serbian (con)federation may also be formed, and it would then be linked with others as a confederal unit. All the possibilities are open at present. As we know, the present Serbian authorities do not agree with a confederation unless the borders are changed.

[Medved] If Slovenia is forced to secede, how will it protect its economic and political interests in Yugoslavia?

[Peterle] It seems to me that political interests are no problem, because after our foreign political offensive, the position of Slovenia in the world is well known and is accepted with understanding. Perhaps the protection of economic interests is a greater problem. The departments in our government have the task of examining this aspect very precisely and to determine steps in such a case.

[Medved] In your speech in the republican assembly, you said that some mistakes were committed in the past, but you did not enter into details. Can we hear some details now?

[Peterle] One should take into consideration that we have relatively few people with practice in administrative organs or government. Therefore some initial mistakes have occurred in coordination. Some proposals were not comprehensively checked....[passage omitted]

## Slovene Government's 'First 100 Days' Analyzed

*AU2308204590 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1330 GMT 23 Aug 90*

[Text] [Announcer] The Executive Council of the Republic of Slovenia today completed its first 100 days in office. In more developed parliamentary democracies, to which we strive to belong, lenient criteria for evaluating a government's work apply to the period of the first 100 days. That is, namely, a period in which a government should perceive all dimensions of the problems and questions which it should be dealing with and, at the same time, it could thoroughly prepare itself for solving those without the pressure of criticism.

It is difficult to say whether the first 100 days were sufficient for Peterle's government to do so. However, it certainly could learn many things during that time, and if it is able to learn from that experience it will find the future to be somewhat easier. Here is a commentary by Drago Balazic:

[Balazic] It is said that a good horse raises much dust. During the past three months, Peterle's government occasionally raised a lot of dust. It is another question if that was good for that government and for us. It is a fact, however, that economic and political circumstances in which it begun its reign and in which it has been reigning are such that it would need several times 100 days in order to get a clear picture of what is to be done. It is not only the degree of difficulty and complexity of the situation that made normal work impossible for this government in many respects. Its trouble does not lie only in not knowing how—and not being able—to quickly get Slovenia out of the present political vacuum that arises from the situation in Yugoslavia and from the economic stagnation and the lagging behind of Slovenia, but also in being a victim of either the unrealistic promises of Demos [Democration Opposition of Slovenia] leaders made during the election campaign or of the relations in the leading coalition, as well as of the intolerance of some circles within its own ranks or within the coalition.

The government—which now at least has some idea of what it wants, but does not know which roads to choose toward these aims nor how to tackle the essential problems of Slovene society—in these three months has dealt with matters that attract the media, but are not very that important or merely repeat measures which the previous Sinigoj government was famous for.

True, the present government, by removing the veil of secrecy that covered the restricted region of Kocevska Reka, has contributed significantly to the act of reconciliation at Kocevski Rog, and has at least partialy relieved our economy burden. In addition, and most recently, the government's firmer position toward Yugoslavia is probably responsible for our somewhat improved negotiating position which could pay off in the future.

However, the prospects of Slovenia and the Slovenes regarding their position in Yugoslavia, our domestic and economic situation and development, and our standard of living, the attitude of foreign countries toward our efforts for the Slovene sovereignty—in a word, our prospects—are still not much better than they were months ago. Perhaps the unknown quantities are even more numerous now. On the other hand, the government, perhaps thanks to some zealots in its own ranks or in the ruling coalition, has quite unnecessarily raised the wrath of discontent in some sections of our society.

One cannot count it among the government's merits that some proposals, which it had portrayed as being vitally significant, were later withdrawn from adoption procedures, or were immediately altered upon their adoption, all of which means that these decisions were made without examining all possible dimensions and consequences.

Certainly the government will not be able to endlessly contribute their shortcomings to inherited difficulties and limitations, or the lack of competence, because it was elected precisely to solve the problems and limitations it had inherited; not to use them as an excuse.

President Peterle did admit some time ago that the government has made some mistakes, which is certainly quite considerate, but it would not be at all nice if it repeated the same mistakes.

## Bosnia-Hercegovina SDA Statement on Coalitions

*LD2308162290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1129 GMT 23 Aug 90*

[Text] Sarajevo, 23 Aug (TANJUG)—It is out of the question that the Party of Democratic Action [Stranka Demokratske Akcije, SDA] intends to set up a coalition with any national party in Bosnia-Hercegovina, to the detriment of other parties. We are not for such coalitions, because it is clear to everybody that they can lead to deterioration of intranational relations, or even toward a civil war. This was stated today at a news conference by the chairman and the vice chairman of the SDA, Alija Izetbegovic and Adil Zulfikarpasic, stressing that Adil Zulfikarpasic's speech at a founding assembly of the Croatian Democratic Community for Bosnia-Hercegovina [Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica za Bosnu i Hercegovinu, HDZ za BIH] has been maliciously interpreted.

SDA Vice Chairman Adil Zulfikarpasic categorically stated that he did not speak about a coalition between the SDA and the HDZ, but about cooperation between all democratic parties in Bosnia- Hercegovina which support a sovereign Bosnia-Hercegovina. This means, according to the SDA leadership, that in this connection they do not differentiate between cooperation with the HDZ za BIH and with the Serbian Democratic Party [Srpska Demokratska Stranka, SDS] in this republic.

The coexistence of Muslims, Serbs, and Croats in Bosnia- Hercegovina is a basic starting point of our party, Alija Izetbegovic stressed. In this regard calculations cannot be made, and we shall not deviate from that, not even an inch. Whoever is involved in breaking up Bosnia-Hercegovina is our enemy, Izetbegovic added, and whoever supports a sovereign and democratic Bosnia-Hercegovina and the coexistence of nations populating it, is our natural ally.

By these statements the leaders of this party made it clear that, according to them, certain journalists and the leadership of the Bosnia-Hercegovina League of Communists maliciously state that the relationship between the SDA and the HDZ constitutes a coalition.

SDA Secretary Muhamed Cengic informed journalists that on Saturday [25 August] delegations of the SDA and the SDS will lay flowers in Foca to flow down the River Drina to commemorate all genocide victims of World War II. On that day a founding assembly of the SDA for this area will be held in Foca and some 100,000 citizens are expected to attend.

## Montenegro Party Assails Serbian 'Pretensions'

*LD2308173390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1321 GMT 23 Aug 90*

[Text] Titograd, 23 Aug (TANJUG)—In its statement for "the public and the government bodies in Montenegro," the recently founded Party of Socialists [Partija Socijalista] of this republic informs the public that it will be a part of the reformist movement being formed by the Yugoslav prime minister. At the same time the party points to the fact that in Montenegro essential questions and problems of the present moment which require urgent resolution are not taken into consideration; instead, because of incompetence, the essence of all problems is transferred to the "heroic and mythical past."

The party warns of the danger of international conflicts in the republic and questions why along with Greater Croatian and Greater Albanian, nobody mentions Greater Serbian pretensions to the territory of the state of Montenegro, and why the public in Montenegro has not been informed about pretensions to Montenegro and about negating the national identity of Montengrins on the part of the Serbian National Renaissance, the Serbian Chetnik Movement, certain members of the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences, and some other cultural and public figures from Serbia.